



THE LEADER

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# The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos*.

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## News of the Week.

FEARS for the result must by this time have firmly lodged themselves in the capital of Russia. It is, indeed, far too soon for us to boast that the victory is ours: man cannot reckon upon his own achievements. But, without arrogating to ourselves any exploits, other than those which may be claimed by clear resolve and open resolution, it is clear that the combination of events is already beginning to tell upon the power of Russia. Unless the whole enterprise is a delusion, we may reckon the driving back of Russia by the clock, and say that every time the sun goes down the enemy of Europe is nearer to his sentence. Although the reported taking of a fort in Hango Sound is not confirmed, the advance in that quarter is steady. The Russians are shut up in port. It will be seen from the letter of a naval correspondent of our own, in another column, that the direct attack of Cronstadt can scarcely yet be in contemplation, but the position established by Sir Charles Napier can scarcely fail, should it be supported, to have important political consequences. The Swedish people were already inclined to join with the West, as our correspondent shows; and the *Aftonblad*, the leading journal of Stockholm, has recently come round to a national point of view, and is supposed to indicate that the Court has done the same.

At the other end of the semi-circle of the Western operations the vicissitudes are more numerous; but the balance is largely in our favour. The report that the Tiger had been stranded, and had been compelled to surrender, is now confirmed; but it is followed by the report that the bombardment of Odessa was to be renewed, to compel the return of the prisoners. After reconnoitering Sebastopol, to which the Russian fleet kept itself closely confined, a squadron has been sent, under Sir Edmund Lyons, to take possession of the Russian forts on the Circassian coast, and to open communication with Schamyl, the chief who has so long resisted the Czar single-handed; while a Turkish fleet has carried reinforcements to the Ottoman army in Asia. That army had retained its allegiance under circumstances of interrupted pay, failing provisions, and broken communication, sufficient to have excused any amount of despair, even to the abandonment of the Sultan's flag. The latest accounts from that army represent it as deriving

animation from the reports that the Western Powers had declared war against Russia; and these reinforcements will no doubt renew its courage and make it once more an active power in the field.

The position of Russia on the Danube, not materially altered, appears by the latest accounts to be anything but hopeful. It cannot be said to be entirely without motion, since there is constantly going forward an active march from the ground occupied in the Dobrudzha to the hospitals in the rear, and it is now reckoned that the Czar can muster for his support and glory an army of 26,000 strong of well-qualified hospital patients, haunted by all the demons of typhus, dysentery, callenture, and hospital gangrene. Now, however, Prince Paskiewitch threatens Silistria, and a new contest is expected: the allied forces are advancing to take their part.

By degrees further light is thrown upon the position of the German Powers, which is daily assuming more importance. We have now the text of the treaty between Prussia and Austria, to which the other German Powers have given their adhesion. In order to appreciate the force of this document, let us remember that Prussia suggested it, but that Austria, not then perfectly broken with St. Petersburg, hesitated. When Austria, more distinctly understanding her position, its liabilities, and balance of chances, agreed to accept the treaty, it was Prussia's turn to hesitate, and Prussia insisted upon the insertion of an additional article. Now what does the treaty stipulate? The body of it stipulates that in the event of a war, which the two Powers agree in regretting, they shall be bound jointly to defend each other's territory, German or non-German; in other words, attack from any other power upon any province of Austria or Prussia would, under this treaty, be resisted by both of them. The additional article reports that propositions have come from St. Petersburg which give ground for new hopes of a pacific accommodation; the formal document thus confirming a previous report to that effect. It likewise confirms a statement that the Emperor Nicholas had admitted the reasons of his original occupation of the Principalities to have been removed by the concession made to the Turkish Christians. The treaty, therefore, establishes these facts—that Russia was making proposals through Berlin during the negotiations for the treaty; that Russia admitted the pretext for her invasion of Turkey

to have been removed; and that Prussia entertained hopes of a pacific conclusion. Historically, these facts are important in their bearing on the sequel. No aggression on the territory of either Prussia or Austria was intended by the Allied Powers or by Turkey; Russia, however, has since threatened to attack Austria. Now Austria has done nothing against Russia; any complaints, therefore, which Russia might vamp up against the Western Powers fail in respect of Austria; yet Austria is threatened for not acquiescing in that invasion of Turkey for which the Czar has admitted the original reason to have been removed. With this series of facts, let us couple the other; that throughout, probably down to the last moment, Prussia has remained in communication with the invader of Turkey, the enemy of the Western Powers, and the threatener of Austria.

Subsequent to the conclusion of this treaty, it is said, the other German Powers have adopted it. This fact is important, as showing how strongly the balance of German conviction is in favour of the policy and necessity recognised by Austria, and against the double-dealing of Prussia. It is possible,—indeed, and we strongly suspect such to be the fact,—that some of the German Courts may enter into the alliance with the deliberate intention of playing traitor along with Prussia; and Saxony we count at the head of that doubtful party, Bavaria not in its rear. Still there is reason to believe that the German peoples agree with the counsel of Austria in joining to defend their territories against attack—the attack being threatened only by Russia.

It is possible that rumours of risings in Italy and in Hungary may have accelerated this union: we trust that no patriot party will consent so far to play the game of Russia.

They bring us reports, indeed, from the territories beyond North-Western India, that Dost Mahomed, Khiva, and Persia, are all intriguing to play into the hands of the Czar. So it was said last week of Portugal and of the United States. We believe that nine-tenths of these reports are the pretences of agents who wish the Czar to believe them successful when they are really failing. Portugal has joined the European neutrality, which, if honest, can be available only against Russia, and not in her favour. While even if the remote tribes of Central Asia go with him, we do not believe that they can serve him much, hemmed in, as he is, from Sweden to Circassia.

His very means must begin to be failing : the many prizes that have been taken, North and South, cannot but daunt his monied classes ; the difficulties of raising cash are already exhibited in St. Petersburg ; while, on the other hand, England, now his chief enemy, rejoices, notwithstanding the war, in a constant creation of wealth. It is surprising to observe how comparatively little the war has paralysed trade. No doubt, because England and France, with the concurrence of the European Powers, have taken wise steps to secure freedom and security for commerce.

That Russia has agents in this country is tolerably notorious. Whether or not certain honourable and noble persons in Parliament are to be counted amongst the conscious agents of that Power, we do not know, but certainly they are doing their best to serve its purposes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has proposed a plan of providing for the war which is honest, straightforward, and in its main principles, we think, correct. It is possible that Mr. Gladstone might improve upon the details of his budget ; and we pointed out exceptions last week. But the feeling in all parts of the country,—the failure of endeavours to get up an agitation against him in the City, and the willingness of every class to meet its liabilities without a murmur,—proves that the public goes along with Mr. Gladstone in his desire to provide for the war handsomely, to meet the expenses at once, and to do so without hampering the operations of trade. One instrument to secure the last condition is the Exchequer-bonds—a security which differs entirely from a "loan" in the ordinary sense. Mr. Wilson showed on Monday night the enormous amount of money which we are now paying for Pitt's blunder. We are paying in a rough calculation fourteen millions a year of taxes for a debt which Pitt agreed to pretend that he had incurred in order to induce the monied classes to let him have the money that he did want ; borrowing five shillings, it may be said, at one period, he pretended to incur a debt of a sovereign—paying a premium of 15s. when he only wanted 5s., and we are paying for that policy which was so popular in the City, and which the City agreed with the Government of the day in proclaiming to a deluded people as almost divine. There is, however, a party in Parliament which cares not much about vindicating justice, which pretends to care something for the honour of England, but cares, above all things, to hamper the present Ministry, in order, if possible, to render the seats of office vacant, and to slip into them. That party found in Mr. Thomas Baring, a pleasant-spoken financial member, with an hereditary City name, to act as its flag in blockading Mr. Gladstone ; and thus, on Monday night, Mr. Thomas Baring moved an amendment to declare that no more Exchequer-bonds should be issued. Even the House of Commons, easy-going assemblage as it is, refused its assent to the great Opposition financier by 290 to 186.

Amongst other proceedings in Parliament which remain to be noticed, the most important is Sir William Clay's "fluke" on the subject of church-rates : he has obtained leave by 129 to 62 to bring in a bill for their total abolition. The heir of the House of Derby, on the same occasion, declared his adhesion to the total removal of church-rates without substitute ; having almost simultaneously declared to the Anti-knowledge Tax Association that he is for the total removal of the stamp tax on newspapers.

The defeat on the second reading of the Oaths Bill is not, however, a "fluke" in any sense. Ministers played a rash and difficult game, giving their opponents some "points;" and Sir Frederick Thesiger has succeeded in making his number, with three to spare. In fact, Lord John tried to mark too many at one coup, and, like other skilful players, he lost the game by a hair's breadth. It is to be remarked that whereas last year the Jew Bill was a simple measure, and succeeded as such, this year the real Liberals of the Cabinet generously proposed to include a great many other

persons besides Jews. They proposed a root-and-branch reform of the oaths of Parliament. The Opposition raised the old "No Popery" war-cry, and found it as useful as ever. Ministers are routed by their liberalism. Mr. Disraeli, the mystery-man, loves Jews, but abhors Catholics ; to frustrate the latter he sacrificed the former.

Prince Albert has knocked the Challis statue on the head. A report of the proceedings which had been taken for the statue fund were forwarded to the Prince, requesting the "honour and advantage of his counsel." He courteously and at length commented on the proposal, and suggested as the best, amongst several modes, that the exhibition should be commemorated by the establishment of four travelling scholarships, representing its four grand divisions. The prizes to be publicly competed for ; himself contributing towards its pecuniary success. The proposition is worthy the gentleman and the Prince-Consort.

### PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

The week opened with a pitched battle between the Ministry and the Opposition on the debateable ground of finance. The pretext for the contest was the proposition of Mr. Gladstone to raise money by Exchequer-bonds or by Exchequer-bills ; Mr. Baring and Mr. Disraeli seizing the occasion to arraign the whole of Mr. Gladstone's financial career. There was some conversation at the outset as to whether Government were not breaking faith with the Opposition in the order of proceeding, in which both sides maintained they were right. In Committee of Ways and Means Mr. GLADSTONE moved simply three resolutions seriatim, without making a speech. Mr. THOMAS BARING prefaced his amendment by a long speech, scarcely touching upon the merits of the question before the House, but attacking the whole financial policy of the Government. Other Chancellors of the Exchequer had had, he said, difficulties to contend with even in times of peace, but Mr. Gladstone's difficulties are of his own making. His measures, however, had not been judicious ; they were ill-advised, wanting in prudence and caution, and therefore unsuccessful. Although surrounded by a constellation of departed Chancellors of the Exchequer, and with the whole secret history of finance before him, yet Mr. Gladstone had neither been guided nor warned by their experience. Last year, when there was a regular efflux of gold from the Bank of England, when the Bank was raising the rate of discount, Mr. Gladstone chose the time to reduce the interest on Exchequer-bills. Was that done under the conviction that the higher rate of interest was only temporary, or purposely to reduce the amount of Exchequer-bills afloat ? Confidence could only be maintained by the maintenance of a fair rate of interest. But, not content with a reduction in February, when June came a further reduction took place ; and Mr. Gladstone was forced to enter the market and to purchase 1,247,000l. worth of Exchequer-bills—between May and September—to bolster up the Exchequer-bills by the use of the savings-bank money—3,000,000l. worth of Exchequer-bills came in for cash ; and 1,200,000l. were converted into the funded debt—a permanent addition to the national debt. Another point on which Mr. Gladstone seemed to apprehend censure was the conversion scheme, into which Mr. Baring entered with great relish, and which he condemned, contending that Mr. Gladstone had been warned sufficiently at the time, and ought not to have attempted that operation. A third point was the question of the balances at the Bank, and Mr. Baring laid down the rule that the Government should be prepared to discharge the payment of the dividends on the day on which the Bank is called upon to pay them. Passing from the past he came to the present position of the finances of the country. Here he made a great parade of his desire to reduce the funded debt—or the duty of every finance minister to reduce it by establishing a surplus to that end; adroitly urging here and there, at the same time, that the heavy charge of a war like the present ought not to be placed upon capital alone by direct taxation, and making out that, although Mr. Gladstone showed so much aversion to a loan, yet he had adopted that very measure, only in its most inconvenient form, by asking the committee to permit him to borrow for five years. A "loan" is "money lent, to be repaid or returned in some way or other." Mr. Gladstone wanted six millions, and said he borrowed them in anticipation of the incoming taxes ; but was not that a loan ? It was a loan which would have to be paid off at a definite time, without power of renewal, and would puzzle some future Chancellor of the Exchequer perhaps to pay it, who would talk of Mr. Gladstone as Mr. Gladstone had talked of Mr. Pitt. What Mr. Gladstone really wanted was about 3,500,000l., why then ask for 6,000,000l.? Had he not used his balances, had he not placed the market in peculiar circumstances, that money might easily have been obtained from Exchequer-bills, without any addition

to the national debt. If you take a loan, exclaimed Mr. Baring, let it actually be a loan. Had Mr. Gladstone the assurance of success ? He said he was engaged in a struggle with the moneyed power of the country—a moneyed power he portrayed as always anxious for war.

"It might be allowed that, at some period of our history, the bankers and capitalists of the city of London had rendered some service to the State. The right hon. gentleman, however, considered them as vampires, who fed upon the vitals of the country. Mr. Pitt, the right hon. gentleman continued, was only called 'heaven-born' in the city because he made loans ; and he might be heaven-born on the same conditions. Well, but had it never occurred to the right hon. gentleman that if the epithet of 'heaven-born,' which seemed to be very extraordinary as coming from the Stock-Exchange, really had its origin there, it might be because Mr. Pitt had always been successful ? and, perhaps, the right hon. gentleman could not claim the term in that sense. (*Cheers and laughter.*) It had been Mr. Baring's lot to have some dealings with those connected with the moneyed powers of this country, and he did not believe them to be so bad, so powerful, nor yet so useless as the right hon. gentleman thought. They did but reflect public opinion ; they were but the middle men who dealt between those who had large and those who had small fortunes ; they were but the representatives of public opinion ; and the reason why the right hon. gentleman found that they had not aided him was really because he had not given them anything which anybody wanted to buy. (*Cheers and laughter.*) The right hon. gentleman said, 'I am afraid to make their fortunes by the financial operations of the Government.' Why, those who had dissented from the right hon. gentleman's plans were the men who had made their fortunes—those who had taken his money without taking his stock." (*Cheers and laughter.*)

With all its power there is one thing the House of Commons cannot do—make a man buy what he does not want.

He was told that this was a vote of want of confidence. Why, in that way, anything might be distorted into a vote of want of confidence. Budgets had been taken back before—the income-tax was wrested from Lord Liverpool's Administration, but he did not resign. The whole pith of his speech lay in the peroration.

"He had voted for the taxes which had been passed, not because there might not be very fair objections taken to them, but because he wished not to throw impediments in the way of the Government with regard to taxation ; but his vote now was a want of confidence in the schemes which had been failures. It was a vote of want of confidence in measures which had been made abortive by the mad way in which they had been put forth. It was a vote of want of confidence in the idea that in four or six years they would be able to pay off this stock. It was a vote by which he called upon the Government to say what they really wanted. If they wanted a loan let them have a loan, but on their own responsibility. If they wanted taxes let them come boldly forward and propose taxes. But don't let them go irritating the public credit, irritating the feeling out of doors, by these constant marrings, meddling changes—these plots which excited distrust and got them so little money. The Government must not think they could play this game like any other game, and as one in which, when they had made a bad move, they could take it back and play it again. Financial mistakes were national misfortunes. (*Loud cheers.*) Financial failures were like calamities, and a series of failures was fraught with danger to the credit of this country. (*Loud cries of 'Hear.'*) It was a great power to possess this credit. The Government had called upon the energies of the people, had heavily taxed the resources of the country, and the people had responded to their call ; but within their reach was a still more powerful arm—that of the national credit. This arm had achieved and could still achieve wonders ; but while it was powerful, it was at the same time most sensitive. Under the guidance of a careful, a judicious, a prudent, an experienced hand it could defy, uncrushed and uninjured, the heaviest assaults which could be made against it ; but if beneath the touch of a meddling, fidgetting, irritating pressure, it might shrink into impotence, and close itself against its employment for purposes of national utility. (*Cheers.*) He called on them, then, not to avoid loans, but he called on them to avoid this constant tampering with their balances—this constant attempt to do something new, something novel, something strange. It was with those feelings, and because he wished for himself to enter his protest against the continuance of this system, that he ventured to move as an amendment of the resolution of which he had given notice, 'That it is not at present expedient to authorise any further issue of Exchequer-bonds with the engagement of repayment within the next six years.' (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. WILSON replied to this onslaught, entering at once into the controversy, and dealing with the subjects of debate as they arose. First, the balances : he showed by a reference to three years that, from the manner in which the accounts of the Government were kept at the Bank, there had always been on any day a much larger sum in the Bank than what appeared. Thus, in 1850 there was an apparent surplus of 1,200,000l. only ; but really the cash in the Bank was 6,256,000l. In 1852 the surplus only appeared to be 16,000l. but the minimum balance on any one day in the October quarter of 1852 was

4,460,000. On the 5th January, 1854, there appeared to be a deficiency of not less than 3,711,000.; now the minimum balance in the Bank at that time was not less than 1,483,000. Mr. Wilson met Mr. Baring's charge that Mr. Gladstone had been "forced" to go into the market and buy up Exchequer-bills by showing that the whole of the operations were intended to reduce the unfunded debt, and that his aim was to enter the market and buy up bills, in order to reduce the interest upon the floating debt. But by the failure of the conversion scheme all the advantage of that operation was lost; if, however, they had not permanently reduced the unfunded debt, they had reduced the funded debt by 11,375,000. Mr. Wilson entered minutely into the relations existing between the Government and the Bank of England, showing the advantages that establishment derives from the connexion, and pointing out, as regards the balances, that, as for convenience sake there are 69 different accounts between the Government and the Bank, so, if one account be without a balance, the Government have a perfect right to remind the Bank that upon other accounts they have balances amounting to millions.

What was the real question before the House? The real question was whether the expenses of the war are to be borne from the means arising within the year, or whether we are to rely upon loans. Referring to Mr. Pitt who, it was said, was compelled to conduct the last war by loans, Mr. Wilson said there never was a greater mistake. Had he started with the same information that we now have he need not have increased the national debt.

The financial committee, over which Sir H. Parnell presided, investigated this subject at great length. From the facts laid before that committee, it appeared that while the public debt in 1793 was 244,440,000., in 1817 it had risen to 848,282,000., giving an increase of 603,842,000. This, too, was exclusive of the sinking fund. The charge upon the debt, in 1793, was 9,624,000.; in 1817 it had risen to 32,453,000., an increase of 22,829,000.—sufficient, as had been remarked, to bear the cost of the greatest war in which England had ever been engaged. The mistake which Mr. Pitt made was in making a wrong start. In the first seven years of the war Mr. Pitt borrowed 110,000,000., on which the annual interest amounted to 5,700,000., and the committee discovered that, if in 1798 he had raised the taxation to the amount at which it stood in 1799, he would never have had occasion to increase the debt. In 1793 the net amount paid into the Exchequer for taxes was 15,000,000., and in 1799 it was 35,000,000., the increase during those years having been equal to 20,000,000. Had Mr. Pitt induced the public to submit in 1793 to the same increased taxation which he persuaded them to accept in 1799, he need not have borrowed a single farthing. That was a great lesson for the country, and it showed that by submitting to a small amount of taxation now an avalanche of debt would be saved. The committee to which he had already referred instituted a very important investigation into a point of considerable interest. They wished to arrive at this fact—what additional amount of taxation per annum from 1793 to 1817 would have saved the country from any increase in the national debt? The return made by the Treasury showed in one column the amount of interest upon the debt as it stood in 1793, the whole amount of expenditure, including the war, and for all purposes, except the charge on the national debt, and then the net amount of taxes paid into the Exchequer each year. It appeared from that return that from 1793 to 1817 the amount of the interest chargeable upon the national debt, had it remained the same as in 1793, would have been 9,500,000. a year, or 236,446,000. altogether; but the actual expenditure for all purposes, except the debt, had been 1,039,658,211., making a gross charge upon the two items of 1,295,104,211. The net taxes paid into the Exchequer during that period amounted to 1,143,777,928., leaving a deficiency of 151,326,283. spread over twenty-four years, or a deficiency of 6,000,000. a year. Consequently, an average increased taxation of 6,000,000. a year would have saved the country the whole of the enormous debt which had been incurred. What, then, was the result? Instead of the 150,000,000., of which there was a deficiency, the property of the country was mortgaged for 603,842,000., leaving an excess of 452,515,717. over and above the actual expenditure, from the peculiar mode in which the war expenditure had been carried on. It must not be supposed that that sum of 452,000,000. was paid into the Exchequer, but it was 452,000,000. of stock created, which the country could not get rid of without paying off every shilling, and upon which interest was now paid. The result then was that, during the period referred to, 452,000,000. of national debt was incurred for which the country had never received one single farthing of benefit. If hon. gentlemen would refer to the proceedings of Sir H. Parnell's committee, they would find that this enormous amount of debt bore a charge at the close of the war, in the shape of interest, of 17,450,000. Without that interest the national debt at the present moment would be considerably under 10,000,000. a year."

Mr. Wilson contended that the present proposal to anticipate taxation is not a loan. Government ought to act like every private individual—namely, to borrow money when money was required upon the best terms, to pay the interest necessary at the time it became due, and always to leave themselves in a position to pay off the debt whenever they were able to do so. He believed it to be a wise policy to run any risk to pay the interest rather than tie them selves up by incurring a debt extending over an indefinite period. If the country wanted 100l. let Government borrow 100l., pay a certain rate of interest upon it, and, when they had done that, renew the bill, if they required it renewed, or, if not, pay it

off. There are certain classes who have tried to depress the efforts of Government; but, if the resolution passed, he believed it would lay the foundation of a system of finance so beneficial in the conduct of a great war.

Here the Opposition put up Mr. MALINS, who arraigned the whole financial policy of the Government. He was answered by Mr. LAING, who pointed out that the railway interest find not the least difficulty in negotiating 7,000,000. worth of bonds during the year.

Mr. CAIRNS attacked, and Mr. MACGREGOR and Mr. HANKEY defended the Government. There were now cries for a division, and strangers were ordered to withdraw; when up got Mr. DISRAELI, who had been waiting for the speech of some Minister to which he might reply. Mr. Disraeli's speech consisted of a catalogue of what he called the errors, blunders, &c., of Mr. Gladstone, interlarded with hostile comment. The errors were, first, the reduction of the interest on Exchequer-bills; secondly, the conversion scheme; thirdly, that in 1853, Mr. Gladstone proposed a "peace budget"; and fourthly and fifthly, that he reduced the interest on Exchequer-bills, and tampered with the savings-bank money, in order to pay off 3,000,000. of Exchequer-bills. Independently of this grim succession of blunders, Mr. Disraeli reverted to what he called "a point," an "element" in the consideration of the question—which turned out to be a reference to the correspondence between the Government and the Emperor of Russia; and he dilated in defence of himself upon his own proposal to establish a discriminating income-tax; asserting that Mr. Gladstone had charged him with not having placed the schedules on the table, and then refuting his statement by saying with great gravity—that Mr. Gladstone had concealed the fact that it would be utterly without all precedent that any such schedules should be so placed on the table. The resolutions were placed on the table with all due formality. Another incidental point in his speech was a reference to Mr. Gladstone's recent operations. He described him as suddenly appearing in the market wanting 6,000,000. at four per cent., and unable to get it; surely the Emperor of Russia would put that down as a countervailing incident to the bombardment of Odessa.

"In that wild desert the city of London, inhabited by—I will not say savage beasts, though there are some bulls among them and the rest are bears—in the city the Chancellor of the Exchequer is supposed to have some knowledge of these animals, but the right hon. gentleman would not content himself with bulls and bears, but aimed at higher prey, and it was sought to bring down the antlered monarch of the forest and all the stags of London to contribute to maintain the credit of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. (*Heavily, hear, and a laugh.*) The right hon. gentleman was under the necessity of striking out 200,000 or 300,000 of the subscriptions on which no instalment was paid. This mismanagement of the finance, though slight, was the occasion of a great deal of public scandal, and does no good to the public credit. I speak not from hearsay, for, through unknown contributors, I have documents in my possession—letters from three persons, most obscure, penniless varlets, all subscribing 5000. of Exchequer-bonds. (*Laughter.*) It is a striking thing that these fellows without a roof not only subscribe for 15,000. of the Exchequer, for 5000. of each of the series, but they received an official answer. What was the reply to them? That the Government would grant their request? Much more than that. The reply was not only granting the request, but begging, as a particular favour to the Government, that they would take the whole of the subscription for the series A, and that by doing so they should enjoy all the advantages and privileges which they might obtain from series B and C. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with that array of phrases which he has at command, may pretend that this scheme equals the Royalty Loan of Mr. Pitt, whom he so much admires, but I think that all acquainted with the subject must have felt annoyed that the Treasury of England should be placed in so ridiculous a position, for not only could the right hon. gentleman not raise 6,000,000. at four per cent., but he absolutely gave occasion to circumstances which make the public functionaries contemptible in the eyes of the country. Who would have supposed, when we listened to the right hon. gentleman as he touched upon these matters in an indignant spirit of self-defence, that he had been in correspondence with all the stags of London? (*Laughter.*) The right hon. gentleman came forward as though he were to be the victim of the Government; he has asserted that he will not allow his colleagues to take a share in the faults he has committed, which are to his mind so patriotic a kind; and he takes refuge in quotation more classical than novel, and from so accomplished a scholar as the right hon. gentleman we might have expected a more felicitous line. The House will recollect the circumstances which attended on the events that called for that exclamation, and I think the right hon. gentleman must, in making it, have ventured on our forgetfulness of the author. The House will remember when the young gentleman alluded to was, with his companions, detected in having plundered the Rutulian Republic, he exclaimed:—

"Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferram!" I am surprised that the right hon. gentleman could resist, with his knowledge of the original, the infinite humour of the succeeding line, and not have quoted it. It is:—

"O Rutuli, mea frons omnis." (*Great laughter.*) I think that would be a good motto for the new Exchequer-bonds." (*Renewed laughter.*)

Mr. Disraeli said he would "flash" conviction on the House by "one pregnant instance" that Mr. Gladstone's way of raising money is bad—and he de-

scribed Sir Charles Wood, in 1847, entering the market at a "glaring period," asking for 8,000,000.—not by fantastical methods, but by the good old way of taking consols at 100l. for as much as you can! At the close of his oration Mr. Disraeli thus referred to Mr. Pitt:—

"The right hon. gentleman has favoured us with his opinion of Mr. Pitt; he has compared himself with Mr. Pitt, and has given himself some great importance. He tells us he is superior to Mr. Pitt, though not 'a heaven-born Minister.' (*Cheers and laughter.*) The right hon. gentleman has indulged in diplomatic criticism of the career of Mr. Pitt, and has spoken of that statesman's conduct and example in terms of reprobation, though he said that Mr. Pitt was called 'a heaven-born Minister.' It is well to be accurate even in trifles, and I do not think that that title did come from the Stock-Exchange. I believe it had a more patrician origin, and I have heard that, applying the epithet of Chatham, Mr. Pitt's father, to Lord Clive, it was the Duke of Chandos, in the House of Lords, who called Mr. Pitt 'the heaven-born Minister.' Therefore, the sneer of the right hon. gentleman was hardly accurate. I trust that, without offending the friends of the right hon. gentleman, I may presume to give him this piece of advice:—I would recommend him to give over these unwordly sneers against Mr. Pitt. (*Opposition cheers.*) If I were the right hon. gentleman, I would confine myself in future to self-glorification, of which I admit the right hon. gentleman is a master. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Let him dilate on the astuteness with which he effects the conversion of South Sea Annuities—(*laughter*)—let him dwell on the intrepid courage with which, to show his spleen against the party he is twitting, he can double the malt-tax; but let him abstain from those reflections on the memory of a statesman which I assure him is still dear to the people of England. (*Cheers.*) I bear in mind that Mr. Pitt, whatever may be his failings in the opinion of the right hon. gentleman, held with a steady hand the helm when every country but Great Britain was submerged in the storm—and when the right hon. gentleman taunts Mr. Pitt with caressing the bankers and the money-lenders, he must also remember that Mr. Pitt owed to a grateful country an eleemosynary tomb." (*Cheers.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE said that his reply to the accusations of error would be very brief. As regarded the reduction of the interest, he had nothing to retract, and nothing to repent, and he had announced the principles of his policy as to borrowing, and as to reducing the unfunded debt, and he trusted that if Mr. Baring were still dissatisfied, he would bring the matter to an issue in that House—the proper tribunal. He thought he had spoken with all due humility as to the "abortion" which he had admitted. He repudiated the charge of having tampered with the savings banks money, with which he had dealt as it was a Minister's duty to do; but he invited a discussion on that subject at a proper time. He sarcastically alluded to an expression used by Mr. Disraeli to the effect that the savings banks transactions had occasioned loss to the depositors, and said that it was almost impossible to believe that one who could make such a charge had been Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. As regarded the "peace budget," he observed that the doctrine had been laid down that no tax was to be repealed so long as there was a chance of war. Last year he had about twice a week to defend the finances against attacks led or joined in by Mr. Disraeli, who caught at every chance of getting rid of a tax. What would have been his (Mr. Gladstone's) position if he had then ventured to urge such a doctrine? He declared that there was no time at which there was not a chance of war for this country. He did not regret the repeals of 1853, which had increased the comforts of the country, and had resulted in a surplus of three millions and a half. His policy had been that noble one which had governed the House for several years, and the blessings of which the country was now enjoying. His charge against Mr. Disraeli in respect to the income-tax was that, at the time he had propounded his plan for a graduation, he had not, according to his own admission, looked into the schedules. As regarded the charge that Government did not anticipate and properly provide for the war, that was an accusation which might be advanced, if its truth were felt, and Government would not shrink from meeting it. The people of England presented at that time a spectacle of moral grandeur in the efforts they were cheerfully making to support a just and necessary war, and they made them because they had confidence in the House of Commons, and in its guardianship of the national interests.

Referring to Mr. Disraeli's attack upon him for dealing with stags and other wild animals, Mr. Gladstone made an effective retort:—

"What, then, is the nature of the amendment? The hon. gentleman who proposed it does not venture to tell us that the City of London is adverse to the creation of such a security as Exchequer-bonds. The hon. gentleman carefully avoided making any such assertion as that, but the right hon. gentleman who last addressed the House has referred to the various classes of wild animals—in the city with whom, according to his own account, he has had correspondence on the subject of these bonds. The right hon. gentleman having treated the committee to an account of the information that has been privately imparted to him as a matter of favour, I possibly may not go far wrong in acquainting the committee with certain information which has been imparted to me as a matter of favour. It seems, then, that certain of the letters sent out by the Bank as a matter of form were purchased at a low rate by some gentleman,



with the view of sending them to the right hon. member for Buckingham, being perfectly sure that he would turn them to the best account in the House of Commons."

In referring to Mr. Baring's speech, he complimented him on his dexterity in drawing the attention of the committee to small and secondary matters. He incidentally mentioned that he should comply with a suggestion which had been made, and should amend the resolutions by limiting the rate of interest to 4*l.* per cent. Explaining the necessity for the proposed Exchequer-bonds in the same way as he had done in his original statement, he denied that his plan was one for a loan, and remarked that Mr. Baring's definition excluded everything that was known as a loan in this country. It was playing with words to call Exchequer-bonds a loan. They were not a creation of stock, or of a debt permanent in its character, but were a portion of the unfunded debt somewhat more permanent than the Exchequer-bills. They were a very rational security, and public opinion was in their favour. He would not treat this, after the disclaimers which had been made, as a vote of want of confidence, but, if it were not one, what else was it? The proposal had not been condemned as excessive, or as inconvenient, or unacceptable to the public, nor had it been said that the money ought to be raised by Exchequer-bills, and, therefore, what was the meaning of the amendment? It must mean that there ought to be a loan in the ordinary sense of the word. During Mr. Gladstone's treatment of this part of the question he remarked upon a taunt in Mr. Disraeli's speech, that he had imposed the malt-tax out of spleen against the party he had quitted, and said that gentleman who could believe such baseness possible must be beyond the reach of any appeal he could make, and, therefore, he apprised Mr. Disraeli that such charges might be made, but would in future be treated by himself with silence. He then urged that in resisting a loan he was acting in a spirit of friendship to the land, which must remain subject to imposition from which movable classes of property might escape. Yet it was the "humble leader" of the Opposition who was set upon a loan. He disavowed any idea of unworthy reference to Mr. Pitt, and regretted if he had spoken a word too strongly in regard to that great man, to whose errors he had only referred for the sake of contrasting them with the gallant efforts made to redeem them. But Mr. Disraeli desired to repeat Mr. Pitt's errors in the light of experience, and without the excuses which could be offered for them. In answer to the allusion to the loan of 1847, he said that the circumstances were in no degree parallel, but added that he did not think the country would have been in a very bad condition even if that loan had been made payable at a certain time. He concluded by challenging discussion, in intelligible form, of any of the matters that had been raised, and adding that the Government came to the House to ask for the means of carrying on the war, and were convinced, as Mr. Disraeli had said, that the decision would be given with regard to the advantage of the country.

Mr. BARING replied, declaring that he believed the amount asked for was not necessary, that the Exchequer market had been injured, and that improvidence had been displayed. He declared with some warmth, that what he had intended to do he should have done openly, had he had any other intention than that expressed in the amendment.

The committee divided after eight hours and a half's discussion, and the numbers were, for the resolution, 290; for Mr. Baring's amendment, 186; majority for the Government, 104. Loud cheering followed the announcement.

The resolutions moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were then put and agreed to, as follows:—

"1. That the Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to issue Exchequer-bonds bearing interest at the rate of 3*l.* 10*s.* per centum per annum, for any sums not exceeding in the whole 4,000,000*l.*, at any prices and on any terms determined upon by the said commissioners, such bonds to be paid off at par at the expiration of any period or periods not exceeding six years from the date of such bonds.

"2. That the interest for all such Exchequer-bonds shall be payable half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the growing produce of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom.

"3. That in case the said Exchequer-bonds be not issued for the full sum of 4,000,000*l.*, as hereinbefore mentioned, then the Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to issue Exchequer-bills to such amount as, with the total amount for which such bonds shall be issued, will make up the whole sum of 4,000,000*l.*, authorised to be raised by these resolutions."

#### THE OATHS BILL DEBATE. DEFEAT OF MINISTERS.

The long-expected debate on the second reading of the Oaths Bill, comprising the admission of the Jews, took place on Thursday, and ended with the defeat of the Government in spite of the strenuous exertions of Mr. Gladstone and Lord John Russell. It will be seen that the real war-cry against the measure raised by the Opposition was "No Popery," and the Protestant institutions in danger.

SIR FREDERICK THESIGER led the attack, by moving that the bill be read a second time that day six months. He began by imputing to Lord John Russell a reluctance to bring the bill on, and adverted to the state of public feeling on the subject, alleging that there had only been three petitions, with 166 signatures, in favour of the bill, one petition with 69 signatures for an alteration in the present oaths, and 481 petitions with 60,171 signatures against the bill. He charged his lordship with departing from his former professions of attachment to the Protestant Church, and allowing no consideration to stand in the way of his attainment of a favourite object. After cautioning members not to be deluded into going into committee on the allegation that, because no portion of the Pretender's family existed, an obsolete oath ought to be revised, he accused Lord J. Russell of having, when elected with Baron Rothschild, given one of those inconsiderate pledges by which he was apt to embarrass himself, and added that, session after session, he had kept his word by a measure of this kind, except in 1852, when he tried to deal with the oath in one of his post-finality reform bills. The proposed measure was carried by decreasing majorities in that House, and rejected by increasing majorities in the House of Lords. The noble lord sought to break down all the defences of the Protestant constitution in order that Jews might march over their ruins to sit side by side with him. Advertising to his lordship's threat, that if this measure were rejected it might be a question whether the Jews should be seated by resolution, he described it as a desire to retrace his previous constitutional course upon the subject. This bill was chiefly intended for the benefit of Roman Catholics and members of our own Church who were restless in regard to the supremacy of the Crown. But the coalition into which his lordship had entered rendered compromise inevitable; and as in the triumvirate each party sacrificed his private friends, Lord J. Russell had contributed the supremacy of the Crown and the securities of the Protestant establishment. He declared that he should prefer silence on the subject of supremacy to the maimed and mutilated recognition now proposed, and that he was fortified in this feeling by the authority of Sir Robert Peel. After a reference to the vigour and manliness of the Durham letter, he entered into a history of the supremacy oath, and insisted on the jealousy with which any attempts to tamper with it should be regarded. It had been consecrated by its introduction into the coronation oath, and it was now proposed that the Crown should be alone in recognising the Protestant constitution, and every subject was to be insulated from his Sovereign. He then examined, at great length, the reasons by which Lord John Russell had advocated the bill upon its introduction, and declared that the circumstances in which he had placed himself had enforced the present unhappy necessity of departing from his former declarations against changing the Roman Catholic oath. The oaths proposed were for the benefit of the Roman Catholics and Romanising members of the Church of England. Finally, he likened Lord John Russell to Caligula, and said that he was trying to strike off the head of our Protestant safeguards at one blow, charged his lordship with being the aggressor in this matter, and the Opposition with being protective; and expressing a strong confidence that the Protestants in the House would resist the measure, added that, if he failed, there were behind him men of stout courage and good hearts who would continue the resistance he offered.

Mr. GLADSTONE next entered the arena; commenting on the fresh difficulties Sir Frederick Thesiger had raised up by importing theological controversy into the debate. Warmly defending the character of Lord John Russell from the aspersions of Sir Frederick, and proving that his advocacy of the Jewish claims dated from a time anterior to his election for the city of London, Mr. Gladstone retorted the charge of inconsistency back upon Sir Frederick, reminding him of the various political relations in which he had stood to the stout and able-bodied persons to whom he alluded at the close of his speech. As far as the case of the Jews went, that had been adequately debated; he would proceed to the cases of the other two classes referred to by Sir F. Thesiger, namely, those of Romanising members of the Church of England, and of the Roman Catholics. He said that the oath of supremacy actually contained no recognition whatever of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, a doctrine which assuredly was asserted elsewhere, but not in the oath on which so much had been said. The obligation of those to whom the supposed allusion had been made would remain substantially the same as at present. The doctrine of the supremacy in question was to be found in the 37th Article, where the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome was spoken of in clearer terms than in the untrue language of the oath, which was also diversely interpreted. Were it otherwise, large classes who did not hold the ecclesiastical supremacy, and whose representatives sat in

that House, would be excluded. He thought it would be matter of regret if the House should attach any value to declarations against the Pope, our strength lying in the attachment of all classes to the constitution; and he deprecated the introduction of religious discussions, believing that the more topics which offended tender consciences could be excluded from their debates, the better they would fulfil their duties to their country. He next urged that words by which Parliament sought to bind conscience should be clear and intelligible, which the words framed in 1829, binding those who took the oath to respect the settlement of Church property, were not; and he suggested that the limiting oath, one duty of a citizen went to weaken his obligations in other regards. He demanded whether the Roman Catholics were to sit in that House on terms of equality. If it had been intended to exclude them from certain discussions, the words which had at the time been approved by the friends of the Roman Catholics should be retained. But if the Roman Catholics were to be on equality with other members, the sooner the words were got rid of the better. They were framed at a time when Church property was looked upon as a sacred thing. But on last Tuesday night the House, including members of Opposition, voted for the extinction of Church property. He revered the principle of an oath, which tended to maintain the reverent frame of mind in which men should address themselves to solemn duties; but words used in the presence of God should be used in the sense of that presented—should be short, simple, and above all not ambiguous. The present oath was a trap to the conscience of the Roman Catholic members, and he felt that if he were a Roman Catholic it would place him in a situation of pain and difficulty. Reminding Sir F. Thesiger that Nero, and not Caligula, was the originator of the "one neck" wish, he said that he was thankful to Lord John Russell for bundling up all their useless obligations into one, and presenting them to the axe of the executioner.

After this opening combat, there ensued a regular skirmish among the less prominent members. Mr. NAPIER resolutely but mildly attacked the bill, contending that Lord John Russell desired to destroy the safeguards of the Protestant religion provided by the Bill of Rights. Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE said the bill would release all beneficed clergymen from taking the oath of supremacy, and remove the protection at present existing against those who desired to combine the opinions of Rome with the emoluments of the Church of England. Mr. H. T. LIDDELL attacked and Sir JOSHUA WALMLEY supported the bill. Mr. NEWDEGATE was of course against the bill. Mr. MALL supported the bill. In answer to appeals to Dissenting members of the House, he said that if the measure were a just one, it would not be opposed by them merely because it was acceptable to classes with whom they differed. He did not believe that the influence of Rome was increasing, but if it were, political restrictions would not diminish it. We might as well try to exclude the suggestions of the evil one by shutting doors and windows. Why should Protestants be so constantly useful for their own religion? He also thought that all members of that House ought to be able to exercise an unfettered and uncrippled judgment in assisting to frame the laws of the country, and he gave every portion of the bill his cordial support. Mr. WINTERSIDE followed the line adopted by Sir Frederick Thesiger, only he argued and declaimed with additional bitterness.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL remarked that in every former debate on this subject the House had heard that all Christians were united as against the Jews, who were a separate race; but that night the latter had been almost omitted from the discussion, which had been devoted to the differences between Catholics and Protestants. After observing upon the use that had been made of history, he said that if the declamation he had been listening to meant anything at all, it implied that the Opposition were ready to reverse the policy of emancipation. He sarcastically remarked upon the inconsistencies of previous speakers, who had alternately described the oath of 1829 as framed with great wisdom, and as a weak and mutilated form when its words were found in the bill before the House. He explained that we wanted no security against Protestants, and as regarded those against whom we had rightly or wrongly thought it necessary to take bail, our suspicions were now at an end. An oath, he urged, was a very solemn thing, and ought not to be taken lightly, or in futile or unnecessary form, as was the case with the oath of supremacy. Nor did he think the oath against the doctrine of deposition and murder of kings was worth keeping up, as such doctrine formed no part of the Roman Catholic belief. The words respecting the subversion of the Church Establishment were framed in 1829. Now, he believed that an oath imparted solemnity and precision to a statement regarding facts, but the case was different when you called on men to swear to a duty which was opposed to their convictions. Oaths were taken

not to bear arms against King James, yet both Whigs and Tories, when he violated his contract, were not deterred from taking arms by the oath which had been framed after seventeen days' debate. Nor had the oath prevented votes on the Irish Church Establishment. It was a great mischance when a political question was before the House, and members ought to be free to vote as the welfare of the country might dictate, but certain set were liable to be told they could not vote a certain way without committing perjury. He referred to the settlement of 1829, which it had been said ought not to be disturbed, and gave an account of the assistance which the Opposition had lent to the Government of that day in order to obtain any kind of settlement. They had desired alterations, but on Sir Robert Peel's asseverations, given to Lord Althorp, that this was the best bill he could carry, and that further demands by the friends of the Catholics might endanger it, they supported the measure throughout. But, a quarter of a century later, he certainly considered that any part of the measure found to be objectionable was a legitimate subject of discussion. Then, as regarded the oath denying the jurisdiction of foreign princes, he did not deem that any further security than the common law was required. The only parties against whom security had been desired were the Roman Catholics, and this had been parted with in 1829, and high judicial authority had recognised Roman Catholic priests acting in responsible public situations under the authority of Rome. He thought it better, therefore, to have no ambiguous expressions in the oath. He had no new argument to use in favour of the admission of Jews. The only argument against them was that they differed from us in religion. If the House were prepared to adopt this test, exclude the Jews; but if Roman Catholics and Dissenters were let in, he would say that the Jews were a loyal, intelligent, and trustworthy class, as competent as any other to assist in the counsels of the State. He therefore called on the House to remove the last bar, and not to exercise religious intolerance because they were few in number and without political power.

Mr. DISRAELI said that three different issues had to be considered. Lord John Russell would not hear from him the taunt that he had taken up the cause of the Jews from any other motives than those of conviction. He had himself frequently supported him in his efforts. Why?

"Sir, when I remember how much we are indebted to that people, of what ineffable blessings they have been the human agents—when I remember that by their history, their poetry, their law, our lives are instructed, solaced, and regulated—when I recall other considerations and memories more solemn and reverential, to which I will not further advert, I confess that I cannot, as a Christian, oppose the claims of those to whom Christianity is so much indebted. If I look to modern history and the claims they have on the kindness of the House of Commons, it is my belief that if the Bible had not been translated and printed, there would not have been an English House of Commons at this moment; and I would remind the members who represent Scottish constituencies how much the liberties of Scotland are indebted to the Jews, and their freedom is owing to the 'sword of the Lord and of Gideon.' When I remember these circumstances, I think that the claims of the Jews to political emancipation cannot be, and have not, in my mind, been met by any argument that has at all influenced my opinion; and there is also another reason why I more particularly wish that the grant of these immunities, by which the English Jews will be put on a level with their fellow-subjects in every respect, should not be denied or delayed. I cannot conceive from my mind that there is no country in which that people have been persecuted which has not suffered, whose energies have not withered, whose political power has not decayed, and where there have not been evident proofs that the divine favour has been withdrawn from that land. I refer now to the cases of Spain and Portugal, as well as to those of Italy and other southern countries. I cannot say that in England an accusation of that kind can be made with any 'justice.'

Lord J. Russell, had he limited his efforts to obtaining political emancipation of the Jews, should have found him a humble but faithful supporter. He did not think Lord J. Russell could much complain of his want of success, or that the Jews could murmur at the receptions of their claims, which had had much more success than the Roman Catholic claims in the same time. Public opinion, also, had been influenced in their favour. Feeling the advance of the question, he deeply deplored that it had been mixed up with others that embarrass and retard it.

"We must remember that the race for whom the noble lord is, we are informed, peculiarly interested, is not a race which cannot afford to wait. They are not a new people who have just got into notice, and who, if you do not recognise their claims, will disappear. They are an ancient people, a famous people, an enduring people, and a people who in the end have generally attained their objects. I hope Parliament may endure for ever, and sometimes I think it will; but I cannot help remembering that the Jews have outlived Assyrian kings, Egyptian Pharaohs, Roman Caesars, and Arabian Caliphs, and therefore I think we need not precipitate their claims, to their ultimate prejudice, and against public feeling, but that we may freely leave them to their

own course, sure that argument and fair discussion will facilitate and accomplish it."

There need have been no hurry; and he demanded why the Jewish cause should have been prejudiced by mixing it with considerations of the gravest political problems? The emancipation should have been demanded on the broad basis of religious liberty. A separate Jewish oath should have been prepared. He hoped one day to see the Jew take his place in that House, not by the odious omission of certain words, but by a declaration of his own creed. As regarded the other issues, he thought the alteration of the oath of supremacy unstatesmanlike, for such oaths were associated in the public mind with great political facts on which the constitution was based. And he thought no course could be more calculated at this moment to aggravate animosity than the alteration of the Roman Catholic oath. He had a great respect for the Roman Catholic, though the Popes had always treated the Jews ill, and to that fact he attributed the present state of Italy. He did not believe that the influence of the Papacy was declining—we had to encounter no common power. A few years ago the Premier of England announced to a crowded House that there was a vast conspiracy on the part of the Papacy against their liberty, and did they believe that it was a power which formed vast conspiracies and gave them up? Nothing could remove the impression produced by the noble lord's announcement, nor had anything occurred to show that the Papacy was less grasping or aggressive. This was not the time or the occasion for publicly intimating that we were relaxing securities and weakening bulwarks. He could not, therefore, support the bill, but he never took a course which gave him more pain, but which he more felt to be his duty. He added a sober declaration that no member of his party had ever sought to influence his conduct on this question, and he concluded with a prediction that the time would come when the Jew would receive full emancipation. Lord J. Russell's faith in this result was founded on his belief in religious liberty, Mr. Disraeli's because he believed in the Almighty.

Mr. MUNTZ and Mr. GOULBURN having added their protests against the measure, the House divided after eight hours' debate. For the second reading, 247; for Sir F. Thesiger's amendment, 251; majority against Government, 4. The bill is therefore lost.

The Opposition began cheering vociferously the moment Sir F. Thesiger, as teller, advanced to the table, and after the announcement of the numbers the shouting was tremendous.

#### CHURCH-RATE ABOLITION.

The House of Commons gave leave, on Tuesday, for the introduction of a bill to abolish church-rates. Sir WILLIAM CLAY, on moving for leave, set forth the prominent facts of the case, which are no doubt sufficiently familiar to our readers. Since he last brought the subject before the House the circumstances have greatly altered. The decision of the House of Lords in the Braintree case has been followed by the refusal of church-rates in 43 cases out of 58, after a contest. Since the Census Report was published it has become clear that not one-half of the population of England attend the Established Church. Out of 10,212,563 sittings provided in places of public worship, 5,317,915 belong to the Established Church, and 4,894,648 to the Nonconformists. On the Census Sunday 5,603,815 attended the Established Church, and 5,292,251 the Nonconformist places of worship. Out of a population of nearly 18,000,000 only 10,896,066 attend any place of worship. This shows the injustice of these rates. If they were abolished the Church would not suffer; for within these fifty years there have been 2529 churches built, at a cost of 9,087,000*l.*, of which the public funds only supplied 1,663,429*l.*, and voluntary subscriptions 7,423,571*l.* It was time this perennial spring of bitter waters—these church-rates—should be dried up.

Mr. PETO seconded the motion, disclaiming all hostility to the Church, but contending for the rights of the Dissenters to relief in this matter. Mr. WIGRAM placed church-rates on the same footing as tithe. The obligation to pay both is equally clear. Besides the churches are national structures open to all, and ought to be sustained by all. Mr. PACE took similar views. On the other hand Mr. GARDNER, Mr. BIGGS, and Captain SCOBELL supported Sir William Clay.

Lord STANLEY pertinently remarked that legislation was of no great importance; for if Parliament leave church-rates alone, it will be found that in four or five years the question will settle itself. (*Cheers.*) The decision in the Braintree case had revived the suspended action of the parishes, and even the most conservative boroughs have refused to levy rates. It is not and never was a pecuniary question, but one of principle; and if the pecuniary burden be alleviated it will only be made less productive, but not less objectionable. He believed the time had come for abandoning the church-rates. The country has practically decided the question; and it is the

duty of the House to acquiesce in that decision. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. DRUMMOND made a characteristic speech in opposition to the bill. It was a proposition to rob the Church.

"In all countries of the world of which we have any record, we find that the Sovereign of the country did establish, for the benefit of his subjects, a national religion. That national religion was of necessity the religion of the Sovereign. It was his conscientious duty to do so, and the conscientious duty of the subjects of that Sovereign is to assist the Sovereign in upholding all that is necessary for the religious instruction of his subjects. You say, 'Yes, but we have now that blessed thing called dissent.' Well, that is a luxury no doubt, but then people must pay for their luxuries. (*Laughter.*) You cannot keep a pack of hounds or a box at the opera without paying for it; why then should you have the luxury of abusing the bishops—why should you have the luxury of attacking church establishments, and not pay the miserable pittance of church-rates for it? (*Laughter.*) But this not all. I say it is, with regard to church-rates, as it is with regard to tithes. There has been a great cry with regard to the abolition of tithes; but the result of such a measure would be that every landowner would put 10*l.* of property more into his pocket than he was entitled to. Now, to that course I object. I say, if you abolish tithe, let the State take it. I say the same thing with regard to church-rates. You bought your houses subject to that rent-chARGE; you have no right now to put that money into your own pocket. Let the Church lose possession tomorrow; the money then belongs to the State. You have no right to it. If your conscience will not allow you to pay it to the State, then you will give us reason to suspect that this is not a question of conscience, but a question of money after all." (*Cheers.*)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL in a doleful tone described how all previous attempts to come to a compromise had failed; and how there is now as little disposition to compromise the question as ever. The bill would not produce harmony; it is only one of a series of attacks; and if peace is to be always purchased with concession, he could not say how far they would go. Lord John took the same line of argument as Mr. Wigram, and said he did not think it would be consistent with an Established Church to abolish church-rates, without providing an efficient resource. He should oppose the bill; but that night he might not succeed, and he should oppose it on the second reading. He doubted much whether Parliament would agree to a bill framed on such bases.

"Whether or not that opposition may be successful tonight, I feel secure that a bill of this kind cannot pass Parliament in the present session. I think, surrounded as it is with difficulties, that the question still requires consideration. I have no doubt that a measure may be framed, and indeed, it has been repeatedly under the consideration of Government already, which would meet the justice of the case, and which, if it were passed, would tend greatly to diminish at all events the popular complaints made against church-rates. But that such a measure would pass through Parliament I own I have very great doubts. I am assured no measure can be framed which would not meet the opposition of the Church upon the one hand, or of Dissenters upon the other. I am afraid that it will not only difficult, but almost impossible, to frame a measure which, founded upon principles of justice and impartiality, would meet with general consent. I know the pains that are taken by those who agitate the country, whether they belong to the Church, or whether they belong to the Dissenting bodies, to reject and defeat measures of compromise which are equally just to both parties. I have found, with regard to measures that were, I thought, most beneficial to the Church, a most hearty opposition made by the Church to them, and these measures have always been defeated by that opposition. I have found, upon the other hand, that measures I thought beneficial to Dissenters, but which, in their opinion, gave rather too much to the Church, have been met by a vehement opposition on their part. In fact, we live in times when on the one hand such differences, differences in point of Church government not very considerable in themselves, are upon the other hand questions of the greatest importance in regard to religious belief. I say, when questions of this kind arise, of one character or the other, they divide the country, produce the most violent excitement, and the exhibition of the greatest amount of party passion and division. Such being the case, I am not sanguine as to the success of any measure which the Government may frame, and which they may hope to introduce in another session; but this I should say, if I gave my willing consent to a bill for totally abolishing church-rates without any sort of compensation, without any sort of modification, that I was giving an example of concession very dangerous to the Church Establishment—and when I say Church Establishment, I mean dangerous to the general peace and welfare of the country."

The House then divided. The numbers were—for the motion, 129; against it, 62; majority for the motion, 67. The motion was consequently carried amidst much cheering. At a subsequent period Sir W. CLAY brought in the bill, and it was read the first time.

COMMON LAW REFORM.—The House having gone into committee on the Second Common Law Procedure (1854) Bill, upon its recommitment, Lord ST. LEONARDS discussed the entire provisions of the measure, objecting, among other points, to unanimity in juries being departed from, to the unlimited power which the bill gave to judges to order arbitrations, and to the power vested in judges to dispense with the oaths of witnesses. He contended that the measure would lead to great embarrassment, by the fusion which it attempted to effect between law and equity.

The **Lord Chancellor** described the mode in which the bill had been framed, and contended that the objections just urged were substantially unfounded. The whole of its provisions had been thoroughly discussed with the judges, and it had also gone through the ordeal of a select committee of their Lordships' house. With regard to the departure from the principle of requiring unanimity in juries, the provision merely guarded against the trouble and inconvenience which might be caused by one or two obstinate men upon the jury, by declaring that if, at the end of twelve hours, ten or eleven jurors were agreed upon their verdict, that verdict should be held good. As to the provision with regard to arbitration, it would only be resorted to by the judge not after, but before the expenses of going to trial had been incurred. With respect to the power of dispensing with oaths by the judge, the proposed change was not in the interest of the witness, but in that of the party who required his testimony, and it was only carrying out a principle which had long ago been recognised by the law. As to the fusion between law and equity, all that the bill proposed was to enable the court before which any matter was brought to deal with the whole of it at once, and he denied that it was a step which would lead to confusion. The bill was exceedingly well drawn, it had most legitimate objects in view, and he hoped it would be passed.

Lord St. Leonards withdrew his objections, and the clauses were agreed to.

**THE PRESTON TURN-OUT.**—Mr. PARKER asked whether it was the intention of the Hon. Member for Finsbury to persevere in the motion which stood in his name on the paper relative to the unfortunate dispute at Preston?

Mr. DUNCOMBE said he had that morning received a letter from Preston, which he would take the liberty of reading to the House, as it would best explain the course he meant to take. The letter was dated, "Amalgamated Committee-room, Preston," and was signed by John McLean, Thomas Banks, and Robert Greenough, in behalf of the several bodies of factory workers:

"The committee who have acted throughout the late protracted struggle on behalf of the Preston operatives in their name beg to offer you, Sir, their most grateful thanks for the sympathy and interest you have evinced in their cause. They have throughout these painful proceedings acted upon a conviction that they were justified by every consideration, whether of a local or general character, in contending for an advance of wages, and it has always been their desire to conduct the dispute with the most rigid regard to law and order. Circumstances beyond their control have induced them to yield to the more powerful combination of their employers. They are therefore unwilling that anything should be permitted to interfere with a cordial reconciliation among all classes. (*Cheers*) We therefore most respectfully suggest that now the struggle has terminated, however unfortunately for us, no further proceedings be taken, and that you will oblige us by withdrawing your motion which stands for Tuesday next, the 23rd inst. We beg again to offer you our most sincere and heartfelt thanks for your generous intentions in our behalf."

He would now, therefore, withdraw the motion of which he had given notice, and which stood on the paper for that night. (*Cheers*.)

**PROPERTY OF NUNS.**—There was an useless debate brought to an end by the clock, at the Wednesday afternoon sitting of the House of Commons. The subject was the second reading of Mr. Whiteside's bill for preventing nuns from disposing of their property in favour of the convent of which they may be members. Mr. MALIN opened the adjourned debate on the second reading in behalf of the bill; it was opposed by Sir JOHN YOUNG, and attacked and sustained, in dreary speeches, by a host of members who are orators on a Wednesday. At a quarter to six, according to rule, the Speaker stopped the debate.

**SCOTCH SCHOOLMASTERS.**—The Scotch schoolmasters have, since 1803, been paid stipends based on the average price of oatmeal for 25 years. The last 25 years, ending in November, 1853, give a much lower average, namely, from 26/- to 19/-, than the previous 25 years—from 34/- to 26/-. In reply to the Duke of BUCLEUCH, Lord ABERDEEN stated that Government intended to bring in a bill to raise the stipends to the old rate; but temporarily only, because unless connected with a general system of education, it would be unreasonable to augment the stipends.

**MIDDLESEX INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.**—On the discussion of a private bill (the Middlesex Industrial Schools Bill) a warm debate arose, originated by Mr. MULLINGS, on the question whether a power should be reserved to the visitors of the schools to permit the attendance of ministers, not of the Established Church, upon the inmates, if their number warranted such an arrangement. Mr. NEWDEGATE and other Opposition members strongly contended against the principle alleged to be involved in such a provision, namely, that of enacting the celebration of mass. Mr. ADDERLEY opposed the proposition on practical grounds, and it was supported by Lord D. STUART and others on the score of religious liberty. On division, the proposed power was retained in the bill by 190 to 108.

#### THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND TURKEY.

This treaty has been published in the *Moniteur*, together with the decree of the Emperor Napoleon, countersigned by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, promulgating it. The text is as follows:

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French, and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having been invited by his Imperial Majesty the Sultan to assist him in repelling the aggression directed by his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias against the territories of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, an aggression by

which the integrity of the Ottoman empire and the independence of the throne of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan are menaced; and their said Majesties being fully persuaded that the existence of the Ottoman empire, in its present limits, is essential to the maintenance of the balance of power between the States of Europe; and having, in consequence, consented to give to his Imperial Majesty the Sultan the assistance which he has demanded for this object, it has appeared proper to their said Majesties, and to his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, to conclude a treaty in order to set forth their intentions conformably to the foregoing, and to regulate the manner in which their said Majesties will lend assistance to his Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

"For this object their said Majesties, and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, have named to be their plenipotentiaries, namely:

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French, General of Division Count Baraguay d'Hilliers, Vice-President of the Senate, Grand Cross of the Imperial order of the Legion of Honour, &c., &c., his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte;

"Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Stratford, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, Peer of the United Kingdom, and member of her Britannic Majesty's Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte;

"And his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, Mustapha Reshid Pacha, his Minister of Foreign Affairs;

"Who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers found to be in good and due form, agreed on the following:

"Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having already, at the demand of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, ordered powerful divisions of their naval force to repair to Constantinople, and to extend to the Ottoman territory and flag all the protection which circumstances would allow, their said Majesties undertake by the present treaty to co-operate still more, with his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, for the defence of the Ottoman territory, in Europe and Asia, against Russian aggression, by employing for that purpose such a number of their land troops as may appear necessary to attain that object; which land troops the said Majesties will send towards such points of the Ottoman territory as shall be thought proper; and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan agrees that the French and English land troops, thus sent for the defence of the Ottoman territory, shall receive the same friendly welcome, and be treated with the same consideration, as the French and English naval forces, which have been for some time employed in the waters of Turkey.

"Art. 2. The high contracting parties engaged on its sides to reciprocally communicate without loss of time any proposition which either of them may receive on the part of the Emperor of Russia, either directly or indirectly, with a view to the cessation of hostilities, to an armistice, or to peace; and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan engages moreover not to conclude any armistice, or to open any negotiation for peace, or to conclude any preliminary of peace, or any treaty of peace with the Emperor of Russia without the knowledge and consent of the high contracting parties.

"Art. 3. As soon as the object of the present treaty shall have been attained by the conclusion of a treaty of peace, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, will make arrangements for the immediate withdrawal of all their naval and military forces employed for the realisation of the object of the present treaty, and all the fortresses or positions in the Ottoman territory, which shall have been temporarily occupied by the military forces of France and England, shall be restored to the authorities of the Sublime Ottoman Porte in the space of forty days, or sooner if it can be done, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty by which the present war shall be terminated.

"Art. 4. It is understood that the auxiliary armies shall retain the faculty of taking such a part as may appear to them proper in the operations directed against the common enemy without the Ottoman authorities, either civil or military, having any pretension to exercise the slightest control over their movements; on the contrary, all aid and facility shall be given to them by these authorities, particularly for their disembarkation, their march, their quarters or encampment, their subsistence and that of their horses, and their communications, whether they act together or separately. It is understood, on the other hand, that the commanding officers of the said armies engage to maintain the strictest discipline among their respective troops, and make them respect the laws and customs of the country. It follows, as a matter of course, that property shall be everywhere respected. It is, moreover, understood on both sides that the general plan of campaign should be discussed and agreed upon between the commander-in-chief of the three armies, and that, if a numerous portion of the allied troops are to line with the Ottoman troops, no operation can be executed against the enemy without its having been previously concerted with the commandants of the allied forces. Finally, every attention shall be paid to any demand relative to the wants of the service, addressed by the commanders-in-chief of the auxiliary troops, either to the Ottoman Government through their respective embassies, or, in cases of urgency, to the local authorities, unless there be valid objections clearly set forth to prevent their being carried into execution.

"Art. 5. The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged at Constantinople within the space of six weeks, or sooner if it can be done, from the day of signature.

"In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

"Done in triplicate, to one and the same effect, at Constantinople, on the 12th day of March, 1854.

(Signed) "BARAGUAY D'HILLIERS, STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE, RESCHID."

**THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN TREATY.**—The much talked-of treaty or convention between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria has been laid before the public. It is an important document, and illustrates the official position assumed by the great German Powers; but it is of a very positive nature, as our readers will not fail to remark.

"His Majesty the King of Prussia and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria,

"Penetrated with profound regret at the fruitlessness of their previous efforts to avert the outbreak of war between Russia on the one side, and Turkey, England, and France on the other;

"Considering the moral obligations imposed on them by having signed the last Vienna protocol;

"Seeing the constant augmentation of military measures on both sides, and the increasing dangers emanating therefrom to general peace;

"Persuaded as to the high mission which, on the threshold of a *finestre* future, is allotted to them, and to Germany, intimately allied with both states, in and for the interests of European welfare;

"Having resolved to unite, during the existence of the war which has broken out, between Russia on the one side, and Turkey, France, and England on the other, in a defensive and offensive alliance, and have named for the conclusion thereof the following plenipotentiaries:

"His Majesty the King of Prussia, his Minister-President Baron von Manteuffel, &c.;

"His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, his actual Privy Councillor Baron von Hess, and his actual Privy Councillor Count Thun von Hohenstein;

"The same, after exchanging their full powers, fund in due order, agreed upon the following points:

"Art. 1. His Majesty the King of Prussia and his imperial Apostolic Majesty reciprocally guarantee to each other the possession of their German and non-German territories, so that any attack made upon the territory of the one, no matter whence it may come, shall be regarded as a hostile attack on the territory of the other.

"Art. 2. In the same manner the high contracting parties hold themselves bound to safeguard the interests of Germany from all and every inroad, and regard themselves, consequently, as bound to resist every attack upon any part of their territory, in case that one of them should, in view with the other, find itself required to move (*versus*) in defence of German interests. Agreement as to the initiative (*cunctio*) of the eventuality just mentioned, as well as to the extent of assistance to be afforded, shall form the subject of special arrangements, which are to be considered as integral portions of the present treaty.

"Art. 3. In order to give the necessary weight and strength to the offensive and defensive treaty concluded by them, the two great German powers bind themselves, in case of need, to hold a portion of their military force fully prepared for war, at given epochs, and at given points, determined between them. Special resolutions shall be made as regards the time, extent, and mode of employing this military force.

"Art. 4. The high contracting parties will invite all German states to adhere to this alliance, in such measure as is provided for by Art. 47 of the Vienna concluding act, so that the legal federal obligations shall receive such extension by adhering states as the present treaty points out.

"Art. 5. Neither of the high contracting parties will, during the existence of this alliance, conclude any separate treaty whatever with other states, which does not fully harmonise with the principles of the present treaty.

"Art. 6. The present treaty shall be submitted, as soon as possible, to the ratifications of the august Sovereigns.

"Done at Berlin, April 20, 1854.

(Signed) "VON MANTEUFFEL.  
"VON HESS.  
"VON THUN."

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLE TO THE OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

"According to the stipulations of Art. 2 of the treaty concluded this day between his Majesty the King of Prussia and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, relative to arriving at an offensive and defensive alliance, the more explicit understanding as to the initiative of the eventuality wherein the action of one high contracting party for the common defence of the territory of the other shall be grounded, will form the subject of special arrangements to be considered as integral portions of the principal treaty.

"Their Majesties have not been able to overlook (*haken sich die Erwagung nicht entziehen können*) the consideration that the indefinite prolongation of the occupation of his Highness the Sultan's territory on the Lower Danube by Russian troops will endanger the political, moral, and material interests of the whole German Confederation, as well as of their own states, and this in so much higher degree the further Russia extends her war operations over Turkish territory. The august Courts of Austria and Prussia are united in the wish to avoid, if possible, all participation in the war that has broken out between Russia on the one side, and England, France, and Turkey on the other; and at the same time to aid in the re-establishment of general peace. They specially consider the explanations recently given by the Court of St. Petersburg at Berlin, whereby Russia appears to consider the original cause of occupying the Principalities as set aside by the concessions now made to, and in many respects carried out in favour of, the Orthodox Christian subjects, as a powerful element of pacification, which they could only deeply deplore were they to see it deprived of further practical influence. They therefore hope that the expected replies of the St. Petersburg Cabinet to the Prussian propositions, transmitted to it under date of the 6th inst., will offer the required security for the speedy withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Turkish territory. In the event that these hopes should be disappointed, the

plenipotentiaries before mentioned, namely, on the part of His Majesty the King of Prussia, his Minister-President and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Otto-Fedor Baron von Manteuffel; on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, his actual Privy Councillor Lieutenant-General and Quartermaster-General Heinrich Baron von Hess, and his actual Privy Councillor and Chamberlain, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Prussian Court, Frederick Count of Thun, Hohenstein, have determined upon the following more special engagement, as regards the initiative, in the case designated in Art. 2 of the treaty of alliance of this day:—

## “SINGLE ARTICLE.

“The Imperial Austrian Legation will, on its part, address to the Imperial Russian Court propositions (*eröffnung*), having for object to procure from His Majesty the Emperor of Russia the requisite orders for the suspension of all further advance of his army into the Turkish territory, as well as to obtain from His Majesty complete (*vollgültige*) securities for the speedy evacuation of the Danubian Principalities. The Prussian Government will, with reference to its representations already transmitted to St. Petersburg, again energetically support these propositions.

“Should the replies of the Imperial Russian Court, contrary to all hope, be of such kind that they should not afford complete tranquillity as regards the two points aforementioned, then will one of the contracting parties, in order to obtain the same, adopt measures, under the stipulations of Art. 2 of the offensive and defensive treaty concluded this day, to the effect that every hostile attack upon the territory of one or both high contracting parties shall be repulsed by the other by all the military force at its disposal.

“An offensive action on the part of both (*ein offensives und erlaubtes vorgehen*) would, however, be first occasioned by the incorporation of the Principalities, or through an attack or passage of the Balkan on the part of Russia.

“The present agreement shall be submitted to the ratifications of the august Sovereigns simultaneously with the treaty just mentioned.

“Date at Berlin, April 20, 1854.

(Signed)

“BARON OTTO FEODOR VON MANTEUFFEL.  
“HENRY BARON VON HESS, Lieutenant-General.  
“F. VON THUN.”

## CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE BALTIC.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

THE subjoined letter is from a correspondent in the Baltic, whose position is such as to procure him a close yet comprehensive view of the naval proceedings in that sea:—

H. M. S. ———, May 10th, 1854,  
Off Gotska Sando.

My dear Sir,—Here we are off one of the most inhospitable-looking rocks you can imagine. We left Kioge on the 12th ultimo, and passing Gothland, steered towards Aland. Every morning the crews were exercised either at sails or great guns. Admiral Chads hurried from ship to ship inspecting each gun personally, and taking the average time of firing each gun. The average time of firing four rounds, full charge and single shot—the guns being laid horizontal—was about two minutes and ten seconds. Our fleet commanded a distance of nearly fifty miles, look-out frigates being detached on weather bow and lee quarter to look out for strange sail. The prizes taken were therefore numerous, and all were sent either to Kioge or Faro Sound. We now confidently expected our destination was the Aland Isles, but on the 15th we turned our heads to the southward, being then off Gotska Sando. Here we remained a day, and then stood into the Gulf of Finland. Admiral Corry was now detached with three sail of the line and ten frigates to the southward, probably to look into the Gulf of Riga, which has been blockaded for some time by our frigates. The Commander-in-Chief remained cruising off the Gulf of Finland, between Aage Head on the north shore and Dago lighthouse opposite. He kept with him seven sail of the line and two frigates, a force exactly equal to that which was said to be in Helsingfors; we therefore considered the other squadron had been detached in order to afford the Russians an opportunity of fighting on fair terms. We were disappointed, however, as on the 18th Rear-Admiral Corry's squadron rejoined us. Here again rumours became ripe that, with our whole force, Charley would go up to Sweaborg, and knock down the Gibraltar of the north. Again we were disappointed. On the 19th, we resumed the old trade—standing to the northward, to return in a few hours to the same place. This blockading has been harassing in the extreme. On the edge of the ice the cold was of course intense—the thermometer ranging from 20 to 30 degrees Fahrenheit; canvas screens having been substituted for bulkheads, we felt the diminution of temperature far more than we otherwise should have done. Our old complaint, irregularities in the Post-office department, still continues. They not only charge

for our letters, but no regular communication is kept up. To-day (May 11th) our people have only received their letters up to March 30th, though, by some extraordinary good luck, our papers of the 22nd ultimo have been received. Those of the 8th and 15th have not come to hand. As we form a tolerably large colony, numbering some 25,000 English, I think we have a right to better treatment; and should this war last another year, it is very much to be hoped something may be done. Perhaps you recollect the post-office at Chobham—how admirably it was managed.

At length, on the 21st, we steamed into Ellinabben, a bay on the coast of Sweden, about sixty miles from Stockholm. It was high time we did so. The weather, which had hitherto, though cold, been fine, now changed; the clear starlight nights were succeeded by heavy fogs, with violent storms of sleet and snow. The sick lists increased enormously; catarrh and rheumatism became very prevalent. A tremendous gale blew for thirty-six hours without intermission. The minister came down from Stockholm, and Sir Charles Napier shortly afterwards visited that town. Our men quickly bought up everything within ten miles of the anchorage; the peasantry must have made their fortunes. The stewards from the various ships proceeded to Stockholm, but very little could be procured. In fact I do not believe there are two slower capitals or worse provided with supplies than Copenhagen and Stockholm. Would to Heaven there was a Yankee skipper within fifty miles—he would soon bring down a cargo of notions, supply our wants, and make his own fortune. But here the natives have no energy; they sell their produce if you trudge up to their doors, but not otherwise, though prices rose 200 per cent. during our stay. A Swedish Count, who lives two miles inland, must have sold his potatoes advantageously, but he never took the trouble either to send or come off, except once when he took his daughters to a hop on board the Duke, the young ladies returning in the evening to superintend the butter and cheese department.

On the 1st of May the Magicienne arrived with news from England, and now Charley, probably afraid that he might be twitted with a reluctance to keep the sea, made most desperate endeavours to get out of harbour. All, however, was in vain. The day to all appearance might be lovely for a short time, but before you could say “knife,” a thick fog, or rather cloud, came sweeping in, and you couldn't see ten yards before you. The news of Captain Foote's death was received about this time, and the vacancy given to Commander Cumming, an officer who distinguished himself at Sidon in 1840. Lieutenant Anderson, first of the Duke, and made in the year 1842, is the lucky recipient of the commander's commission. I say ‘lucky,’ but is it creditable to the Government that an officer of high character and undisputed reputation should remain in a subordinate position until he is considerably older than Lord Nelson was when, as Rear-Admiral, he fought the battle of the Nile, and then only get his promotion by a fluke? Yet such is the case with hundreds (except the fluke), and in my next I shall call your attention to the state of our Navy List, as a little publicity may strengthen Sir James Graham's hands, and enable him to defy what you so justly term the “Cobden-Bright monster.” Captain Foote was a good officer, beloved by all, and his energy had been proved by the number of prizes taken by his ship.

A Swedish lieutenant has thrown up his commission in their service, and joined ours. He has been appointed to the Duke. I doubt not that we could get many more, as the Swedes are decidedly fond of us, and cheer us violently in their excursion-trips from Stockholm. I see by the English papers that Aland has been evacuated. This is quite contrary to the news which has reached us from Stockholm, as the Swedes say the garrison has been reinforced by 5,000 men. On the whole, I believe the English news is most likely to be correct. Most contradictory reports have been received as to the Tribune and Amphion. It was reported the former's prize crew in one of her prizes had been seized by the vessel's crew, and landed in a neutral port; and the latter was supposed to be ashore on the coast of Courland. The first, I believe, was a fabrication; the second correct, but the old tub was lugged off by the Imperieuse.

At length, on the afternoon of the 5th, the weather cleared up for a few hours, and Charley, overcoming his repugnance to sailing on a Friday,

made the signal to weigh. The sailing ships were all towed out. Hardly had we cleared the harbour when a dense fog came on. It became perfectly impossible to perceive any object at three yards' distance, and the fleet had to be guided simply by bells and horns. Several of the ships incurred considerable risk from the presence of certain large rocks at the mouth of the harbour, of whose neighbourhood we could not be aware in the fog, as they had neither bells nor horns to sound. The next morning the fleet re-assembled, and we discovered the Euryalus frigate, who telegraphed “Odessa has been bombarded.”

May 13th.—The fleet now consists of seventeen sail of the line—about forty pendants in all. A small steamer, the Holyrood, has just arrived, laden with stores for the fleet. I need not add that the Post-office authorities have neglected to send a mail in her, though she brings dates a fortnight later than we have had previously. The taking of Odessa is confirmed, and we all wish for details as soon as it shall please the autocrat Canning to allow us to have a mail. I must finish now, as we shall jump at the chance of sending a mail home in her. We have no possible chance, I fancy, of taking Cronstadt; we may possibly take Helsingfors; and I think, when the sea is clear, we are pretty certain to reduce Aland and Hango Udd (Ango Head). The former will make a splendid rendezvous for troops. I cannot see the use of the latter, which has lately been refortified. Every one here is exasperated at our being behindhand with the Black Sea fleet, but I trust we shall soon make up leeway. We have an idea here that we shall not send out forces here till Austria and Prussia are decided, as they might be offended at our giving any assistance towards the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. I trust this is incorrect. A little bullying with each of these Powers will go great deal further than a good many soft words, and at present we offer a direct encouragement to Prussia, preserving her neutrality by our absurd Orders in Council and our humbug about neutral rights. I see by the English papers that Prussia has prohibited the export of arms. I trust we have our own consul's assurance that this is the case, and that it is not only “sur parole de gentilhomme.”

Yours truly,

P.

P.S.—I quite forgot to tell you the shameful neglect of the Admiralty in sending out stores, &c. We are actually ready to go into action, and have no lime-juice on board, which medical men consider almost a necessary for the wounded.

## THE ALLIED ARMIES IN TURKEY.

The Times publishes a letter from its “special” correspondent at Gallipoli, which we think we have special reason to rely upon; and a second from a private soldier to his sister; both documents of great interest, and throwing much light upon life in active service. The first letter, dated May 11th, describes two reviews at Gallipoli, and admirably contrasts the condition, clothing, and efficiency of the French and British armies. Let us first take a description of

## THE FRENCH ARMY.

The review took place on the 6th of May, in honour of Prince Napoleon.

“For two or three hours in the morning long black columns of men might be seen marching through the corn-fields, and filing along the narrow lanes that intersect them, or toiling up the hilly ridges of land in apparent confusion, or at least without much visible order. The spectator who selects a high point of land on the undulating country round Brighton, and looks across the valley below, can form a tolerable idea of the terrain around Gallipoli. Crossing the hills around in all directions, and piercing the ravines between them, he must imagine the dark masses of French infantry advancing from their numerous encampments, formed for miles around on every sloping plateau. Presently the shrill trumpets of the Zouaves are heard sounding a wild and eccentric march, and these fierce-looking soldiers of Africa, burnt brown by constant exposure to the sun, with beards which easily distinguish them from the native Arabs, come rushing past, for their pace is so quick that it fully justifies the term. The open collars of their coats allow free play to the lungs; the easy jacket, the loose trouser, and the well-supported ancle constitute the *bon* ideal of a soldier's dress; their firelocks and the brasses of their swords and bayonets are polished to a nicely. Each man is fully equipped for the field, with great coat strapped over his knapsack, canteen by his side, a bill-hook, hatchet, or cooking-tin, fastened over all. In the rear, mounted on a packhorse, follows the *émissaire*, in the uniform of the regiment, with natty little paupiers and neatly-polished barrels of diminutive size dangling over the saddle; and then comes a sapper-mate, with two wooden boxes fastened to the pack, which contains small creature comforts for the officers. The word is given to halt—stand at ease—pile arms. In a moment the whole regiment seems

disorganized. The men scatter far and wide over the fields collecting sticks and brushwood, and it seems incredible that they have gathered all those piles of brambles and dried wood and leaves which they deposit in the rear of the lines in such quantity from the country that looked so bare. The officers, gather in groups, light cigars, chat and laugh, or sit on the ground while their coffee is being boiled. From the moment the halt takes place, off come the boxes from the mule—a little portable table is set up—knives, forks, glasses, and cups are laid out—a capacious coffee tin is set upon three stones over a heap of bramble, and in three minutes (I timed the whole operation) each officer could take a cup of this refreshing drink after his hot march, with a biscuit and morsel of cheese, and a *chasse* of brandy afterwards. The men were equally alert in providing themselves with their favourite beverage. In a very short space of time two or three hundred little camp fires are lighted and send up tiny columns of smoke, and coffee tins are boiling, and the busy brisk *vivandière*, with a smile for every one, and a joke or box on the ear for a favourite *vieux moustache*, passes along through the haze, and fills out tiny cups of Cognac to the thirsty soldiers. Pipes of every conceivable variety of shape are lighted, and a hum and bustle rise up from the animated scene, so rich in ever-shifting combinations of form and colour that Macilise might look on it with wonder and despair. Regiment after regiment comes up on the flanks of the Zouaves, halts, and repeats the process, the only remarkable corps being the Indigènes, or native Zouaves, who are dressed exactly the same as the French, except that jackets, trousers, and vest are of a bright powder blue, trimmed with yellow, and their turbans or the fold of linen round the fez are of pure white. In an hour or so the crest of the hill on which we stand, and which extends in undulating folds for two or three miles, is covered by battalions of infantry, and they may be seen toiling up the opposite ridge, till before us there is nothing visible from its one extremity to the other but the broken lines of these stalwart battalions. There was a ready, dashing, serviceable look about the men, that justified the remark of one of the captains—“We are ready as we stand to go on to St. Petersburg this instant.”

There was a vivacity, so to speak, about the appearance of the troops, which caught the eye at once. The air of reality about this review distinguished it from sham fights and field-days, and all holiday demonstrations of the kind. Ere twelve o'clock there were about 22,000 troops on the opposing ridges of hills—an excellently appointed train of artillery of nine-pounder guns, with appointments complete, being stationed in the valley below. The column taken linearly extended upwards of eight miles. Strange as such a spectacle must have been to Turks and Greeks, there was scarcely a native on the ground. Whether fear or apathy kept them away it is impossible to say; but Gallipoli, with its 15,000 inhabitants, sent not a soul to gaze upon the splendid spectacle. It Horace be right, the Gallipolitans have indeed discovered the secret of the only true happiness. They absolutely revel in the most voluptuous indulgence of the *nil admirari*. While there are six or seven French men-of-war anchored in their waters, while frigates and steamers and line-of-battle ships are passing up and down in continuous streams, wakening up the echoes of the Dardanelles with endless salutes, not a being ever comes down to cast a glance at the scene. The old crones sit knitting in their dingy hovels, the men, if they are Greeks, slouch about the corners in their baggy breeches, and the pretty and dirty little children continue their games without showing the smallest sign of curiosity, though a whole fleet be blazing away its thunder in an Imperial welcome within a few yards of them. And as for the Turks, they sit so obstinately on their shelves and smoke their apathetic pipes so pertinaciously—they are so determined in resenting the impulse of curiosity—that one's fingers are perpetually itching to indulge in the luxury of giving them a slap in the face, and it is all but impossible to resist the impulse of trying what effect a sound good kick would have in disturbing such irritating equanimity. However, we must make the best of the fact. There were no Chobham crowds to break the uniformity of the lines of military, but great numbers of the English soldiery in their Sunday costume turned out and “assisted” at the ceremony. Shortly before 12 o'clock a brilliant staff—it did indeed literally blaze in gold and silver, brass and polished steel, as the hot sun played on rich uniforms and accoutrements—was visible coming up the valley from the direction of the town. They were preceded by four videttes, French dragoons with brazen helmets and leopard-skin mountings; the various staff officers in advance; then Prince Napoleon in the uniform of a Lieutenant-General, and General Canrobert, in full dress and covered with orders, on one side, and Sir George Brown on the other, both somewhat in the rear. The effect of the *cavalcade* as it swept past, the vision of prancing horses and gorgeous caparisons, of dancing plumes, of gold and silver lace, of hussar, dragoon, artillery, rifle, Zouave, spah, lancer, of officers of all arms, dressed with that eye to effect which in France is very just as long as men are on horseback, was wonderful. It flashed by like some grand procession of the stage, if one can so degrade its power and reality by the comparison. It was not gratifying to an Englishman to observe that the red coatee and cocked hat, the gold epaulettes and twist of the British officers, looked very ill amid all the variety of costume in which the French indulged, nor was it without reason that the latter complained they could not tell which was the general or which the captain by their uniforms. As the videttes came in view, the drums of each regiment rolled, the trumpets and bugles sounded, and all the men who had been scattered all over the ground in disorderly multitudes came running in from all sides, and dressed up, unpiled arms, and with great celerity fell into lines three deep, with bands, *vivandières*, mules, and smoking fires hastily extinguished in the rear. As General Canrobert came up to the first regiment he raised his cocked hat, and shouted lustily, “*Vive l'Empereur!*” The officers repeated the cry, and three times it ran along the line of the regiment. The band struck up, the men presented arms, and the Prince rode past bowing and raising his hat in acknowledgment, and again the band, out of compliment to the English General,

played ‘God save the Queen.’ Then there was profound silence as the Prince approached the next regiment, till coming in front of its leading files the salutes were repeated. In this way the staff passed along the ridge of one hill till they came to the extremity of the lines, then descending, they passed the artillery in the valley, spurred up the opposite hill, and in like manner passed in front of the columns which crowned it. The inspection lasted two hours. The staff returned to Gallipoli, for the Prince wished to embark that night for Constantinople, and the troops breaking up into columns of regiments returned to their various camps, leaving traces of their presence behind them in crushed corn-fields and innumerable smouldering fires. With the exception of one man, who complained of being ill and lagged behind to rest, I did not see a single soldier fall out on the line of march, but those regiments who had a long way to go halted after a march of three or four miles, the sun being very powerful, gathered sticks, lighted fires as before, and regaled themselves with coffee.”

So much for one picture; now look upon another:

#### THE BRITISH ARMY.

On Saturday, the 7th, the English general, Sir George Brown, had a similar inspection of the regiments under his command before his departure for Scutari. Soon after day-break the tents of the Rifle Brigade, of the 50th Regiment, and of the 93rd Regiment, forming the working brigade at the camp of Bulair, were struck, and the whole encampment was broken up. At the same time the 4th Regiment, 28th Regiment, and 44th Regiment, struck their tents at the Soulari encampment, about two miles from the town of Gallipoli, and proceeded on their march towards Bulair, there to take up the quarters vacated by the other brigade. The mass of baggage belonging to these regiments was enormous. The trains of buffalo and bullock carts, of packhorses and mules, and of led horses, which filed along the road to Gallipoli, seemed sufficient for the army of Xerxes. For seven or eight miles the teams of country carts piled up with beds and trunks, and soldiers' wives and tents, were almost unbroken, and now and then an overladen mule tumbled down, or a wheel came off, and the whole line of march became a confused struggle of angry men and goaded cattle. It so happened that two French battalions were moving out to fresh quarters (for, in the excellence of their sanitary arrangements, they change their camps nearly once a fortnight), and it became perceptible at a glance that, *pro rata*, they carried much less *impedimenta* than our regiments. There is considerable difficulty in accounting for this, because without a complete knowledge of the internal economy of both armies comparison is difficult; but it may be fairly supposed that the absence of women and the small kit of the French officers, as well as the inferior size of the tents, go far to account for it. Another matter to be taken into consideration in the officers' baggage is, that Frenchmen live in their uniform, while we all know no real British soldier is quite happy without his mutt. He must have his wide-awake and shooting jacket, and dressing-gown, and evening dress, and a tub of some sort or other, and a variety of gay shirting, pictorial and figurative, while the Gaul does very well without them. Leaving the baggage to its fate, let us climb up one of the hills, near the scene of the French review, and watch the march of our regiments. They came on solid and compact as blocks of marble, the sun dancing on their polished bayonets and scarlet coats with congenial fierceness. The gallant “—th” halt close by—all the men are as red in the face as turkey-cocks—they seem gasping for breath—they are indeed sorely distressed, for a rigid band of leather rendered quite relentless by fibres and buckles of brass is fixed tightly round their throats, and their knapsacks are filled to the pitch of mortal endurance, so that it requires the aid of a comrade for each man to get his on his back; while the Frenchman, unassisted, puts his knapsack on in an instant. The coat is buttoned tightly up to aid the work of suffocation, and belts and buckles compress the unhappy soldier where most he requires ease and the unrestricted play of the muscle. Regiment after regiment reaches the parade-ground, and falls into its place with admirable precision. The lines of these red and blue blocks seem regulated by plummet, and scarce a bayonet wavers in the long streaks of light above the shakos. The rifles, too, stand compact and steady as a piece of iron. Thus they stand under the rays of the morning sun, till at nine o'clock Sir George Brown and staff, accompanied by the French General, and a number of officers, Mr. Calvert, our Consul, &c., ride along the lines, and, after a brief inspection, dismiss them. The Rifles and 93rd Regiment continue their march to the shore, where they are to embark for Scutari. The 50th follow to their new camp at Soulari, and if one follows them, he will see how men drop out, exhausted and half-smothered, and at what a vast amount of physical inconvenience all this solidity and rigidity of aspect are acquired. Take one fact:—In a single company which left Bulair 45 file strong—90 men—so many men fell out on the march to Soulari, a distance of six miles or thereabouts, that the captain reached the camping ground with only 20 men—the rest straggled in during the forenoon. The halts were frequent for so short a march, and the rush to every well and fountain showed how the men suffered from thirst. On arriving at the beach they found all their troubles cease, for the French Admiral had, with the greatest promptitude, sent the launches and boats of the fleet to the piers, and in about one hour the whole of the two regiments, consisting of nearly 2000 men, were shipped bodily on board the Andes and the Golden Fleece; their baggage took a longer time, and there was considerable difficulty in getting the horses on board. The Orient and Sir George Pollock transports conveyed the horses and baggage, and under the active superintendence of Lieut. Rendell, R.N., the Admiralty agent, the operation of shipping them, in spite of many inconveniences, was effectively accomplished. Sir George Brown and his staff went on board the Golden Fleece, in which Colonel Lawrence, Major Norcott, Captain Ebrington, and the officers and men of the Rifle Brigade were embarked. The 93rd were stowed away comfortably in the Andes, and the City of London having taken the two transports in tow, the little flotilla left their anchorage unostentatiously, and moved

on at dusk to Constantinople. Dr. Alexander also went being relieved as principal medical officer of the troops, as by Dr. Forrest.”

[It may be remarked, parenthetically, that several men of the Guards fainted at the inspection of them last Saturday, in honour of the Queen's birthday.]

The private's letter to his sister is dated “Camp Boulahar (Boulair), May 9.” The writer is said to be “a thoroughly trustworthy man, who would not state what was not to the fullest extent true.”

“My dear Sister,—It was my intention to have written to you before now, but, circumstanced as we are, we cannot send letters but seldom, unless we pay 1s. 4d. for each, and then there is some difficulty in getting them posted; and, as you may well suppose, our convenience for writing is very bad, for we have no other means but to sit on the ground and to sit in this position for any length of time is very painful; but I never think of this when I have time and opportunity to do it. The last few days have been very wet, and consequently we have been very miserable, for we were nearly washed out of our tents, and they are as very thin that the rain comes through them almost like a fine colander. The ground on which we are now encamped have recently been ploughed, and the rain has made it so soft and muddy that we have plenty to do to move about. We are now employed in digging trenches, and throwing up batteries for a place to retire to, if necessary. The work is very hard, for the soil is of such a coarse nature that it requires great strength to move it; and every man has his work measured to him for the day, and he must do it, let it take a long time or short; he is not allowed to leave the ground until he has completed his task, and a hard task it is to those that have not been accustomed to such work. But, thanks and praise be to God, we have most excellent health, not having in our regiment one serious case of sickness, nor have I heard of one in any other. It is truly astonishing that, notwithstanding every change of climate and weather that we have had to endure, and several very wet days and cold piercing winds and sudden heat, yet all are well; some of them poor young lads that have lately left their homes and never knew what it was to be out of a comfortable bed have now put up with the cold clay every night, with but one blanket to cover them, and their tent is of such miserable cloth that it will not keep out the dew at fall night very heavily here; but we are all well and cheerful, which proves to me that the kind hand of Providence is dealing very mercifully with us, and most heartily do I wish that the men would acknowledge the goodness of God more than they do, but their chief aim, I am sorry to say, seems to be to get as much of the very bad drinks that are here as they can, and the result of it is that many will yet meet the enemy confirmed and habitual drunkards. The great complaint is, that the Government at home does not send out suitable provisions for us; for, my dear sister, we have been already nearly perished with cold and wet, with not so much as a drop of warm drink, such as tea or coffee; nor could milk be procured, or any other provisions; but for days we were without anything but a pound of bread, and a pound of beef of the most miserable kind; and yet the public papers, before we left, trumped up the public with a lot of falsehoods that provisions of every kind, such as would render the men as comfortable as possible, were sent out under the directions of the Government. England is certainly, in many respects, both ungrateful and unkind to its army; they know their wants, still they will not alleviate them in the least; but, as we are healthy and well, we will not complain; but, on the other hand, should sickness break out among us, the fault would rest upon the backs of them who might make things far different if they would; but we must pray that God in mercy will protect us a speedy victory.”

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE general news of the week from the continent and the seat of war is of great interest, taken altogether, although no event of the magnitude of the bombardment of Odessa is recorded. First let us state what is recorded of the doings of the fleets in the Black Sea.

Admiral Hamelin's despatches to Paris, of a date prior to the loss of the Tiger, continues the story of the fleets from the attack on Odessa. On the 26th April “the allied squadrons set sail and steered for the west coast of the Crimea, as I had agreed upon with Admiral Dundas. On the 28th, finding ourselves in sight of the lands bordering Eupatoria, I detached the steam-corvette the Caton, accompanied by the Furions, to explore the bay on the south of that city. The Caton, while accomplishing its mission, captured three Russian vessels, two of which were coasters; the Furions took a fourth. Already, in the morning, the Descartes, giving chase a-head of the squadrons, had fallen in with an English brig, which, captured the day before by a Russian frigate, had been hastily abandoned by it, when, on seeing the squadrons, it had made all sail to gain the port of Sebastopol. Of these four prizes, two have been sent to the Bosphorus; as for the two coasters, we sank them.”

“On the 29th, the wind permitting us to make for Sebastopol, the combined squadrons steered for the entrance of this port. They there lay to in order to see if the Russian squadron really was decided on meeting us, as the Russian authorities gave out in the Black Sea, according to the statement of the prisoners when questioned the day before. If such, in fact, had been the intention of the Russian fleet, never did a better opportunity present itself for proving to the natives of the Crimea that it wished to avenge the humiliation of the check given at Odessa, and felt in its neighbourhood. The weather was fine, a southerly breeze and quite fair, that is to say, favourable for leaving Sebastopol as well as returning to it. I shall add, lastly, that, in order to induce the Russian admirals to come out to us, Admiral Dundas and myself had ordered two of our ships to keep

out of sight of the Crimean shore—but in vain; the Russian ships did not stir from their anchors all the time we were thus waiting for them."

It was ascertained, however, that there were twelve ships of the line (probably fourteen), three frigates, and twenty-six steamers in the harbour. How the allied fleets comport themselves we learn from another letter from an Englishman in the fleet:—"On the 28th the offing of Sebastopol was reached; and on the 29th, cruising closer in, with a strong breeze, the Sampson and Arethusa (the light infantry of the British fleet) were sent in to reconnoitre, and on their return reported one three-decker, ten other sail of the line, four frigates, and four or five steamers afloat. During the day the Tiger and Fury joined, having been back to Odessa for a reconnoitre, and steamed round by the coast of the Crimea, without falling in with a single vessel. At about five P.M. on the 29th, when the fleets were about twenty-five miles distant from the port of Sebastopol, a steamer was seen, and coming from that direction, which left no doubt of her being a Russian. The Tiger was ordered down upon her, when she soon went round, and stood back again to port, into which she got by dusk, the Tiger having chased her nearly within shot of the batteries, followed at a distance by the Inflexible and Vauban, to guard against its being any decoy or snare, which no doubt was the case, since from the Tiger's deck five steamers were observed to have their steam up, and the four frigates had run up their topsails ready for a start. The appearance of the Inflexible and Vauban in the distance no doubt spoiled the sport, and induced them to weigh the odds as to the result, if they (the Russians) put out to sea. It is to be hoped the next decoy will be a little bolder, and venture out a few miles further; for the mere nabbing of transports and merchant craft not altogether the work which either the English or French seamen would prefer."

In a second despatch the French admiral states that Admiral Dundas and himself had planned an expedition against the coasts of the Crimea and Circassia. Rear-Admiral Lyons was in command of the detached squadron, which consisted of the English steamer Agamemnon, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Lyons; of the French steamer the Charlemagne; of five English steamers, and two French—namely, the Mogador and the Vauban; and the admiral was ordered to attack and destroy, on the shores of the Crimea and Circassia, the Russian establishments and vessels, and to open ways of communication with the Circassians, especially with their chief Schamyl.

A telegraphic despatch from Marseilles, dated Wednesday, says:—"Accounts were received at Constantinople on the 15th that the Russians, unable, on account of the blockade, to defend the sea-board of Circassia, had evacuated all their positions from Batoum to Anapa—an extent of 200 leagues. They burned all their own forts, and retired to Kuitais, in the interior. The Circassians came down from the mountains and took possession of all the posts which the Russians had occupied, making prisoners 1500 men, whom they surprised at Sakkum-Kaleh. The Circassians had proclaimed a provisional Government, under the presidency of a brother-in-law of Schamyl."

This statement would imply that the expedition had been successful. But it is fair to state that no other reports from the Turkish capital of that date mention the story.

Another subject of great public interest, the loss of the Tiger, receives full confirmation this week. But nothing is certain beyond that; the details differ very much, but agree in the main. It would appear that the Tiger, 16, ran aground on the 12th May, near Odessa; that the Russians brought down batteries and fired upon her; that she could not be got off; that Captain Giffard struck his flag, but not until after he had lost a leg from a cannon-shot; and that the Russians, unable to get her away, took her crew prisoners, burnt her, and carried some of her guns as trophies to Odessa. Another story is told by the Vienna *Presse*, but cannot be entirely relied on:—"We have received direct accounts from Odessa relative to the recent events, and communicate them to our readers without changing anything. The inhabitants of Odessa are now in the greatest uneasiness. The Russian batteries have cannonaded an English war-steamer which, on her return from the mouths of the Sulina, was driven by stress of weather into the roadstead of Odessa. This vessel made signals of distress and hoisted the white flag, but the Russians paid no attention to it and fired red-hot shot at her until she caught fire. Notwithstanding the shower of balls the vessel approached the shore, and the crew were able to land. The vessel is now in the port of Odessa in a very bad condition, and the crew are prisoners of war. Several line-of-battle ships and corvettes of the combined fleets have shown themselves before the port. The inhabitants are in great alarm, not knowing what may happen. At the moment I am writing, a vessel with a flag of truce is approaching the port."

The flag of truce, it would appear, was carried in; its bearer demanded the surrender of the prisoners, and for answer was told that the naval allies had only to come and take them. The *Wanderer* of the 20th says that letters from Lemberg, of the 17th and 18th, confirm the intelligence of a renewed bombardment of Odessa. A second letter speaks of seven English steamers having demanded the restitution of the Tiger and her imprisoned crew, which being refused, they proceeded to bombard the town of Odessa. When this letter was posted the firing had already lasted six hours, and still continued.

So much for the naval operations. On the Danube the chief interest, at present, centres in Silistria; and we have a regular diary of events near this place, forwarded from Vienna in the usual way. "On the 16th Marshal Paskiewitch, with his staff, crossed the Danube below Silistria to reconnoitre. On the 16th terms of capitulation were offered to the Commander of that fortress, and the bombardment suspended. On the 17th Musa Pasha rejected all terms, and on the same day the bombardment recommenced. On the 18th Marshal Paskiewitch had his head-quarters at Kalarasch." General Schilders, it is said, had seventy canon in position opposite Silistria. The Russian corps under Lüders is affirmed to have broken out from the Dobrudzha; turning the Turkish position at

Rassova. That requires confirmation. General Lüders must be aware that the eagle-eye of Omar Pasha watches every step he takes in the direction of Silistria. The Russians have 40,000 men at Kalarasch; but that is on the left bank of the Danube. Omar Pasha remains in Silistria, drilling his men, while the allies must by this time be advancing towards him, both by way of Varna and Adrianople. Russian movements indicate signs of retrogression. The munitions of war are being moved northward; and the reinforcements halt on the line of the Sereth, thus keeping up a strong communication between Marshal Paskiewitch and the Russian force on the Austrian frontier. All now depends on the allies; and at the latest date they were waiting for their cavalry and artillery.

The Wallachians are reported to be engaged in firing the Russian stores in many places. About 1000 Wallachians of the better class are in prison on charges of sympathising with the Turks.

A return of the Turkish army in Europe has just been made, and presented to the commanders of the English and French armies. Of regular infantry there are 126 battalions, of chasseurs four battalions, cavalry, 64 squadrons, artillery, 224 guns. The irregular infantry are 13,745 in number, the cavalry 14,355. The battalions consist of 700 men, the squadrons of from 100 to 145. The number of artillery is estimated at 4000. There are, besides, two battalions of engineers, each battalion composed of two companies each 300 strong.

There is a general interchange of festivities at Constantinople among the high and mighty people there assembled.

The news from St. Petersburg merits attention, even if it be only as the shadow of a coming cloud. The *Augsburg Gazette*, of the 20th, says "that several Frenchmen had just passed through Berlin, having been obliged to leave St. Petersburg. They state that a perfect paralysis is seizing trade and commerce in that city, rendered more grievous by the enormous price of provisions. Many bankruptcies are imminent. Paper money had fallen considerably below its nominal value, and gold was eagerly sought for. Economy in every branch of the national expenditure was being attempted. Thus, the building of the Church of Isaac was suspended—a most ominous and momentous matter in Russia. The patriotism of the wealthy inhabitants was perpetually racked by the crying wants of private misery and distress. The bullion in the treasury was removed to Moscow."

Still stronger than this is a story coming from Paris, on good, because Russian authority, to the effect that Count Nesselrode has been "hissed, hooted, and menaced" in the streets of St. Petersburg, and reviled as the cause of the war, the casualties of which he had not provided for.

Advices from St. Petersburg of the 12th inst. represent the Emperor's last ukase, requiring fresh recruits for both army and navy, as his manner of replying to the information that General von Grunwald lately brought him from Vienna. This calling out of fresh recruits for the reserve levies, first of all, nine in the thousand souls in the eastern provinces, to set them even with the western provinces, and then three in the thousand more, making altogether twelve. Of the Jews, ten out of every thousand are to be levied. The levy is to commence on the 27th of July, and be concluded in a month. The Czar has also called for an extraordinary contribution of money.

The English Consul-General at St. Petersburg, Mr. Michell, passed through Koningsberg on the 18th on his way home.

Riga, Windau, Libau, and other Russian ports, are now under strict blockade.

The news which arrived from Berlin, early in the week, of the taking of the Fort of Gustavsvärn, on the island of Hanö, near the cape of that name, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, and the pass leading to the Archipelago of Åbo, is not (as we write) officially confirmed. Though, however, the report may have been merely the echo of a heavy cannonade heard at Stockholm on the 16th, we may perhaps regard the news as rather anticipated than absolutely false. The range of the projected operations of Sir Charles Napier is pretty well understood, and it is natural to enthusiasm, if not to speculation, to discount the probability, if not the certainty, of events. One fact is certain: the public spirit of the Swedes is ripening into an active alliance with the Western Powers, and a resolve to wrest Finland from the Czar.

The German news is of moment. It is this:—

"The representatives of the Four Powers have drawn up and signed a protocol, by which the Four Powers recognise and adopt the separate treaties already concluded between France and England on the one hand, and Austria and Prussia on the other."

Count Alvensleben and M. von der Tann, from Berlin, have been at Vienna in communication with the Emperor. Troops are continually marching to the Eastern frontier. A telegraphic despatch from Berlin says:—"There is no doubt that, in spite of the efforts of the partisans of Russia, the Prussian Government has refused to take any direct steps in favour of Greece. The Russian Ambassador continually protests against the hostile language used by the press of Berlin towards Russia. These protests are met with the reply that the liberty of the press exists in Prussia."

The letter in which the Emperor of Austria announced that he wanted 95,000 more men worth notice:—

"My dear Baron de Bach.—The menacing turn which political circumstances in general have taken, the large bodies of troops which in consequence of the troubles in the East have been put in motion on the frontiers of my empire, and in particular the fact that concentrations of troops have taken place on the frontiers of the east and north, have rendered necessary the adoption of measures with a view to protect the monarchy against all eventualities, and offering at the same time all guarantees for the preservation of the interests of my empire, gravely menaced by this regrettable conflict, and securing the position which becomes us as a European Power. From this consideration, I have given orders to have the military forces in south-east and north-east provinces increased, and to that effect, I have ordered a

levy of 95,000 men. In charging you to place yourself in relation with the general in command of my army to arrange everything which concerns this order, I feel it necessary to express my conviction that my faithful subjects will give, in the execution of this measure, and of every other tending to the safety of my empire, fresh proofs of their devotedness and their readiness to make every sacrifice that can be inspired by a patriotic feeling, as they have done at all previous conjunctures."

FRANCIS-JOSEPH.

"Vienna, May 15." The *Augsburg Gazette* has one Vienna correspondent who is singularly well informed on all military matters, and he now writes that there is a tremendous accumulation of the munitions of war on the Servian frontier. Among other things, he mentions 20,000 packhorses, and provisions for 120,000 men for eight months. The 12th army corps has been sent to Transylvania, the 4th reserve army corps to Lemberg, and the 2nd army corps from Moravia to Cracow. Each corps will be 30,000 strong, but the 12th will be reinforced by 15,000 men from Hungary. The Transylvanian army has been placed under the command of Field-Marshal-Lieutenant von Parrat, who is one of the best officers in the Austrian army.

A criminal prosecution has been instituted against the Archbishop of Freiburg, so notorious of late, for having abused his power, and for having disturbed public order and reposed by his ordinance concerning the application of church property.

Paris reports state that the Generals d'Hautpoul, Ornano, and Baraguey d'Hilliers, are about to be made Marshals of France.

The *Moniteur* publishes a convention for regulating the mode of judging and awarding prizes captured by the combined fleets, which was concluded on the 10th between England and France.

While piracy is spreading in the Archipelago, and the armed ships of all nations are hunting the ruffians from isle to isle, burning or capturing them; while the insurrection languishes in Macedonia, is extinguished in Epirus, and bursts forth in Thessaly, the allied powers are about to punish King Otho for his treachery. The *Trieste Zeitung* says that the ultimatum to Greece demands the observance of a strict neutrality, and the punishment of all those who have joined the rebellion; the immediate recall of all the civil and military officers who have joined it, and the refusal to re-admit into the public service those who had resigned office, or left to join the insurgents. If these categorical demands are not granted by the 22d, the throne to be declared vacant, and a new Government established.

To this we may append another fact: a French or Anglo-French army of occupation is on its way to Athens, 12,000 strong.

Meanwhile Daniel of the Black Mountain, the orthodox ally of Russia, has issued a stirring call to the Christians of the Herzegovina and Servia to rise against their oppressors the brutal Ottomans, and avenge the wrongs of centuries. A very pretty appeal of the Montenegrin robber from his stronghold!

The news from Italy is characteristic. On one hand, we are told of the arrest of refugees who had landed at Sargana, and were making their way to Tuscany; supposed, of course, to be Russian agents; on the other, news comes that poor Poerio has been subjected to fresh sufferings. The correspondent of the *Morning Post* gives us a picture of his prison:—

"The prison of Motefuso is a middle-age building, 60 miles south of Naples, restored expressly to receive the political offenders of 1848. You enter by a covered court, which receives light and air only by the doorway. At the extreme end of this court, and in complete darkness, occurs a flight of steps, which lead to the upper prison rooms. You first come upon five small chambers, wherein are about 60 persons in chains, crowded together. They are chiefly the condemned of the State trials, and consist of members of the learned professions and gentlemen of fortune. Here is confined the ex-Minister Poerio. The particular room in which Poerio is placed is guarded by a soldier from without, who opens a window every quarter of an hour, night and day, to report his prisoner to the guard below. A second window is kept constantly open, by which means the prisoners are perpetually exposed to cold, which, from the elevated situation of the building, is very severe. The floor above is used by soldiers, and here also is the hospital. The prisoners are permitted to spend a small amount of money on food (paying double its worth), which is carefully examined and broken into fragments before the condemned receive it. The prison bread is made from lupins, badly ground. The prisoners are allowed to see their friends through the bars periodically, in the presence of official witnesses, who on more than one occasion have punished the visitors for weeping in the presence of their parents. European events have probably caused the following newly-imposed severities, which took place a few weeks since:—A soldier declared a paper had been thrown out of the prison window; and, indeed, something of the sort was pretended to have been found, in which the soldiers were ordered to be poisoned, and other foolish suggestions. No doubt the whole affair was got up for the end I have supposed, since an order arrived that the prisoners should be chained to the wall! After some time they were released."

#### INDIA AND CHINA.

THE usual telegraphic despatch in anticipation of the Overland Mail has arrived. It contains some strange statements, at present quite unworthy of credit; but of course we give them. The latest dates are Bombay, April 28th; Hong Kong, April 12th.

"The Ganges canal was opened on the 18th of April.

"Russia has concluded treaties with Persia, Bokhara, and Khiva. The articles of the treaty between Russia and Khiva

are as follows:—The friends and enemies of the one State to be the friends and enemies of the other. Russia will not interfere in the dominions or laws of Khiva. A Russian ambassador is to reside at Khiva. A subsidiary force of 10,000 horsemen is to be kept at Khiva, officered and paid by Russia. Russian, Persian, Bokharan, and Afghan slaves, now in Khiva, are to be released, on payment of their value. Russia will have the right to build cantonments, and to establish a force for twenty years, on the Khivan frontier. The Russian force will retire from the neighbourhood of Khiva. Dost Mahomed demands, as the price of his alliance, 5000 Russian troops, and the necessary funds, to recover Peshawur.

"The patriot army is advancing towards Pekin. The Americans have established a friendly feeling with Japan."

#### THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.

On Saturday last the Queen kept her birthday, which falls properly on the 24th of May. In the morning the Guards were, as usual, inspected at the back of the Horse Guards. In the afternoon her Majesty held a drawing-room at St. James's Palace. The day was very fine; the streets were crowded with holiday gazers on the brilliant footmen, the resplendent carriages, the splendid horses—and when they could see them, the nobilities and beauties, and dandies drawn by those fine horses, and attended by those magnificent footmen. Never before were there greater numbers of loyal subjects intent on paying court to royalty. It was an additional point of interest that the Princess Royal was, for the first time, present on Saturday at the state reception; but more interest was excited by the appearance of Sir Robert Adair, an old servant of the Crown, who has seen 91 winters, and who came forth to pay his respects to the Queen on her birthday. The Oriental gentlemen, the Rajah of Coorg, the son and grandson of Tippoo Saib, also commanded attention. Duly in the afternoon bells rang; cannon fired; and the river craft were decked out in flags. In the evening the West-end tradesmen lighted up gas devices over their shops according to custom on these occasions. The real birthday, Wednesday, was also partially kept in London and elsewhere, by bells ringing and so on.

#### OPENING OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

DULY on the 10th of June her Majesty will open the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham. Rapidly are the works advancing towards completion under the dictatorship of Sir Joseph Paxton; and order is gradually becoming visible as well as beauty. On the opening day the Queen will sit on a dais under a canopy. Around her will be a throng of all that is most distinguished and conspicuous in the realm; and behind a chorus of 1400 vocal and instrumental performers, from the great London societies and the provincial choral societies. Mr. Laing, it is understood, will read an address to the Queen, after which she will walk round the building, and on her return to the dais the Archbishop of Canterbury will offer up a prayer; the vocalists will sing the Hallelujah Chorus; and the Queen having declared that the Palace is open, will retire. Her Majesty is a large contributor of plants, and is a season ticket-holder.

#### GREAT CRIMES.

SOME crimes are recorded this week, not altogether novel in their character, it is true, but attended by circumstances that forcibly remind us how base and brute-like is the "paragon of animals" at all times when passion gets the mastery over right feeling and conscience. The first case we shall narrate is really terrible and revolting; illustrating with new force the proverbial hard-heartedness of the stepmother. It is a tale of

##### CHILD MURDER.

Mary Ann Alice Seago, aged 32 years, the wife of a bricklayer, residing at No. 2, York-street, Commercial-road East, was brought before Mr. Ingham at the Thames Police-court, charged with the wilful murder of William Seago, her stepson, aged six years, and also with violently assaulting Ann Cooper Seago, her stepdaughter, aged nine years.

William Watson, a police constable, No. 38 K, stated that at 9 o'clock on Sunday night he received information that a child had been badly treated by its stepmother and taken to the London Hospital. He proceeded to the hospital, and there ascertained that a child was brought there by the prisoner at 6 o'clock the same evening, and that it was dead when admitted. He saw the body of the deceased, which was in a very emaciated state. The child had been neglected, and appeared to have been half-starved. There was a severe wound across the forehead, a bruise on the lip, a scratch on the nose, and discolouration on the elbow and other parts of the body. The surgeon's opinion was that the child had died from the effects of ill-treatment. He afterwards took the prisoner into custody and locked her up.

Ernest Henman, a tailor, of 2, York-street, said: The prisoner, her husband, and family live in my house. On Sunday afternoon, between 4 and 5 o'clock, I heard Mrs. Seago come home and go upstairs to her own room, which she had no sooner entered than she commenced beating the deceased child violently. I heard the blows, and a noise as of something falling on the floor, which was succeeded by the screams of the child. The noise and the screaming continued for some time till the screaming became weaker and weaker. A knock came to the door. It was the prisoner's husband, and his little girl let him in, after he had twice knocked. The

prisoner's husband went upstairs, and came down again almost immediately, and the girl, who remained in the yard while he was in the house, went upstairs, and I heard the prisoner ask her what she had been doing? After that I heard further ill-usage, the child screaming, and most piteous cries and moans proceeding from it. There was a noise frequently repeated, as if a board was thrown about the room. All at once the child ceased crying, and one of the children was sent out and returned with some brandy. I heard the prisoner say, "My God! what have I done? Oh, God, give me strength to go through it!" I repeatedly heard her own child treat her to leave off beating the deceased while she was ill-using the child. After the brandy was brought in I heard the prisoner say, "My darling boy, speak to me! Oh, speak to me! What shall I do? Why should I ill-use these children?"

Harriet Henman, wife of the last witness, confirmed the evidence of her husband.

Watson produced the gown worn by the prisoner on Sunday, and said it was very much stained with blood. On examining the room in which the murder was committed that morning, he found stains of blood on the floor and walls. There were "spots" of blood on the wall.

Ann Cooper Seago, a little girl, only nine years of age and very intelligent, but looking much younger than she really is, was next called. Her appearance excited the greatest commiseration and contrasted strongly with the healthy and comfortable appearance of her stepmother. The little creature appeared to have been dreadfully neglected and half-starved. A ragged frock was all she had to cover her nakedness. She was very dirty, and her limbs were much attenuated. There were marks of brutal violence on her face and arms, and a severe cut over her right eye. Her affecting narrative created much sensation in court, and the magistrate was affected even to tears. The girl, having satisfactorily answered the questions put to her relating to the nature of an oath, said—I am nine years of age. That is my mother (pointing to the prisoner), but fearing to look up at her. She was in the room when I came home on Sunday. My two brothers were in the room—one is Tommy, who is seven years of age, and Willie (the deceased), who is six years old. When mother came in yesterday she beat my brother William. Billy complained that Tommy hit him, and told father who hit Tommy; when mother came in Tommy told my mother that Billy had got him in a row. Then mother slapped Billy and put him to bed. He got up again and sat on the box. Mother knocked him off the box with her fist. Then he got up again, and mother got a strap and strapped him. She beat him on the arm with the strap while he lay on the floor. He got up again from off the floor and undressed himself. He had his clothes on when he was put into bed the first time. When he got up again she hit him with her hands. She hit him on the side of the head twice. Then my mother put him in a tub of water. He was naked. She hit him once on the arm and once on the temple while he was in the water. His nose was pouring with blood when she hit him. He could hardly stand up. She hit him several times in the tub, and his nose poured out with blood all the time he was in the water. He could hardly move before she put him in the water. He could not get out of the water. He was lifted out. My brother Tommy wiped him and put him to bed. Willie got up again, and mother told him to rub a tea tray a little while. Then my mother took him up by his feet, and shook him a long time. Then my mother took him up again, and I think it was by his hair, and threw him across the room. He fell upon the boards. She took him up again, and threw him on a box and kicked him. I don't know on what part of his body she kicked him. She took him up and threw him on the chair on his back, and his head was hanging down, and she said to me, "Now, you crafty —, you may take and do what you like." I said, "Willie, get up from the chair and let me wash you," and he could not get up. Then my mother hit me. Then my mother threw me down and kicked me over the eye and made this wound, and kicked my face. Then my father knocked at the door. I did not go down because I was wiping up the blood and water. He knocked again, and she said, "Go down and let the — in." I let him in. He came upstairs and stopped a minute. I went into the yard, so that my father should not see my face.

Mr. Ingham: Why did you do that, little girl?

Witness: Because I should catch it.

Mr. Ingham: Why should you catch it?

Witness: My eye, sir, was pouring with blood. All my things at home, and all my brother's things, were smothered in blood. Just as I was going upstairs father was going out. He said, "What is the matter with your eye?" I said, "Nothing," and went upstairs again. She said, "What is the reason you were not here when your father was in?" I said, "I was in the yard." Mother said, "It's a lie, you — crafty —, you was outside the door on the landing while your father was here." I said, "I was not." My brother Willie was in bed then. My mother told him to get up and wipe his forehead, but he could not get up. Because he did not get up my mother kicked him down. He was sitting up in bed and could not move, and because he couldn't, she took him out of bed and kicked him, and made a great lump on his forehead as big as a walnut. She did that with her foot. She kicked him about half a dozen times. She kicked him once on the forehead, and once on the chest, and once on the side; I don't know anywhere else. She took him by his hair and threw him right across the room, and he fell down on the floor and couldn't move, sir.—The girl then continued: My eldest brother Tommy said, "Oh, mother, don't hit him; oh, mother, don't hit that poor little fellow, or else you will kill him, and be hung." Mother took up the pepper-box, and was going to throw it at Tommy because he said that. My mother took Billy up from off the floor, and was going to throw him down again, but he was dead then, and she said, "Oh, Billy, I do love you." Then, sir, she wrapped him in a sheet, and took him to the hospital, and she said, "Be quiet, the people are listening in the house."

Mr. Ingham: What made her say that?

Witness: Because my brother Tommy said she would be hung.

Mr. Ingham, in consequence of an intimation from Mr.

Symons, the chief clerk, asked the witness if the prisoner was her own mother?

Witness: No, sir, not my first mother.

Mr. Ingham: How long has she been married to your father?

Witness: About a twelvemonth, sir.

Mr. Ingham: asked the prisoner if she would like to put any question to the witness?

The prisoner at first answered, "No, sir;" but after a pause said, "Now, Annie, look at me, my dear." This was said in a soothing tone, but the child, whose back was to the prisoner, trembled excessively and did not move.

The prisoner: Now, look at me, Annie.

The girl's agitation increased, and she did not move.

Mr. Ingham: She don't like to look on you; she is afraid. You can put any question to her through me.

The prisoner: Who told you to tell that, Annie? Not one third of it is true.

Mr. Ingham: Has anyone told you to tell this tale?

Witness: No, sir, not anybody.

Mrs. Ann Randall said: I am female searcher at the station adjoining this court. I was called last night to search the prisoner, and I saw some blood on the bosom of her chemise. I asked her how that came there? And she said, "No doubt it came from the child. It is blood that came from my dear Billy. It soaked through my dress. I have not the same dress on now as I had when it occurred." She also said, "I was washing the child in salt and water. His arms were round my neck, and he seemed to drop like a diseased heart."

Mr. Major Greenwood, house surgeon at the London Hospital, said: The prisoner brought a child to the London Hospital yesterday evening; it was quite dead. I examined the child; it was very much emaciated, and had been greatly neglected. There was a severe contusion on the left side of the head, two inches above the ear. There was a wound stretching transversely across the forehead. It was a contused and lacerated wound, two and a half inches in length, the edges of which had retracted to about three-quarters of an inch in width. The membrane covering the skull was partly detached. There was a contused wound on the upper lip, and bruises on the face, elbows, and knees, and various scratches on the face, chest, and arms. The child was pallid and the lips were blanched. This afternoon, at four o'clock, I made a *post mortem* examination, exactly twenty-two hours after death. On removing the scalp I found marks of contusions almost all over the head, especially on the left side. On moving the top of the skull I found effusions of blood in the membranes of the brain corresponding with the marks externally, especially that on the left side. The lateral ventricles were filled with serum, and a considerable quantity of blood was on the under part of the skull. In other respects the brain was healthy. Those appearances were sufficient to account for death. On opening the body I found the heart and lungs healthy. There was no disease of the heart whatever. Some of the mesenteric glands were enlarged, but otherwise free from disease. The liver was large, but that had nothing to do with the cause of death. The liver in children is always large. I am decidedly of opinion that death was caused by concussion of the brain, the effects of recent violence. The stomach was healthy; there was food in it partly digested.

Mr. Ingham: Will you put any questions to this gentleman?

The prisoner: No, sir; there was only a cut on his forehead that long (measuring the nail of her thumb); that was all, sir.

Mr. Greenwood: The wound on the forehead was two inches and a half in length.

Mr. Ingham said, this was the whole of the evidence, and, having delivered the usual caution to the prisoner, and reminded her of the serious nature of the charge against her, said, he was now ready to hear any defence she had to make.

The prisoner, who had become more composed, in a very distinct and impressive manner said:—I have not anything to say except that the principal part of that child's statement is false—for instance, the hair of the head. His hair was obliged to be cut very short, and was not sufficiently long for any one to clutch it, as she represented, to throw it across the room. May God forgive her!

Mr. Ingham: Is there anything else you wish to say?

The prisoner: Yes, sir. I have been ever kind to the deceased child, and to them all. I have been the mother of eight children myself, and have always done my duty to all the children. I have ever been indulgent to them all.

Mr. Symons, the chief clerk, having read the depositions, said:

Mr. Ingham said: I commit the prisoner for trial for the wilful murder of her stepson, William Seago. You will find over the witnesses, Mr. Symons.

The proceedings did not terminate till eight o'clock in the evening.

It appears that of four children living with the prisoner and her present husband, two of them were by her first husband. They were well treated by her, but Seago's children were half-starved and ill-used.

#### OTHER MURDERS.

Nor has London been the only theatre of tragedies in real life, like this. The far distant counties of Lancashire and Devon supply each a case of murder.

In the north of Devon, last week, a young woman of Langport, named Mary Richards, went to Torrington, and carried home the gloves she had made during the preceding week, receiving payment for them. She set out the same evening on her return home, and she was observed passing through the village of Taddiport, but she never reached home. The next morning a workman heard groans, and found the poor creature nearly dead from severe injuries. She was carried to Torrington and there she died. As it was evident she had been violated and robbed, as well as murdered, the question arose as to who committed the outrage; and suspicion fastened on a tramp who joined her at Taddiport, ascertained her

route thence, walked on, and, it is supposed, waylaid the poor girl, and committed the triple crimes. This being so, search was made for him, and he was apprehended at Torrington two days afterwards. A woman identified him as the man seen in company with Mary Richards; a barber came forward to prove that he had shaved off the fellow's whiskers; and, it is said, his victim, before she expired, recovered sufficiently to identify him. He gives the name of Llewellyn Garrett Talmadge Harvey, a native of Oxford.

At Manchester an old man, 74 years of age, is in custody for murder. His name is Cosgrove. It appears that on Sunday morning a woman named Morres heard Cosgrove beating his wife, who was shrieking "murder." Morres leaped out of bed, and instantly ran to the rescue, and saved the wife from strangulation. All three then went down stairs, and Morres returned to dress herself. But before that operation could be completed a second disturbance arose, and again rushing down stairs, she found Cosgrove vowing he would murder his wife with a bottle. She again frustrated him, but not before he had cut his wife's arm. Again she returned to dress. There were two other women who slept in her room, one named Hamilton, the other named Moran. Cosgrove followed Morres up into her bedroom, and entered, although Hamilton, who was a cripple, was dressing. The energetic Morres ordered him out; he left only again to commence an attack upon his wife, still protected by Morres. Bent on slaughter, he went back to the bedroom; accused Hamilton of making mischief between him and his old woman; struck her; dragged her over the bed; beat her with one of her crutches; and, after she fell on the floor, with one of the laths of the bed beat her furiously, fracturing her skull in several places. Morres hearing the fall entered, but was overpowered at the sight of the horrid tragedy, and ran off screaming for the police. They came; but the woman was dead.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Court is now at Osborne; and has been joined by the Duchess of Kent. On the Queen's birthday, the 24th, the band of the Royal Marines played on the terrace at seven in the morning.

The Tories have again triumphed in Hertfordshire after a fierce contest. The candidates were Mr. Abel Smith, junior, Tory, and Mr. Fuller, Liberal. At the nomination, last Friday, Mr. Fuller was decidedly the favourite; but at the polling on Monday, after maintaining a strong lead half the way, his majority was gradually diminished, and at the close of the poll he found himself defeated by 40 only. The numbers were—Smith, 2194; Fuller, 2154.

Lord Stanley has given recently several indications of Liberalism. Thus he voted for the abolition of church-rates this week. He has also just written a letter to Mr. Collet, secretary of the Association for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, giving in his adhesion to the repeal of the newspaper stamp. We must remember, however, that other Lord Stanleys have been liberal in their youth.

The Chevalier Bunsen will leave England as soon as Count Bernstorff arrives from Naples. The collection of works of art, belonging to the Chevalier Bunsen, will be sold on Monday and Tuesday next, by private sale, at the Prussian Legation.

Mr. Headlam, M.P., has been appointed Chancellor of the diocese of Ripon, rendered vacant by the death of his father, the Venerable Archdeacon Headlam.

Mr. Pete is about to present the King of Denmark with a beautiful stained-glass window, for the royal chapel at Frederiksburg.

The new rector of the Irish Roman Catholic University will be Dr. Newman. Among the professors Dr. Döllinger, Dr. Browning, and Mr. Florence McCarthy are named.

Much attention has of late been paid at Berlin to the circumstances of several Russian diplomats and noblemen in the Russian service being connected by marriage with English and German families. Thus the sister of Count Woronzoff (Lady Pembroke; [she is not, however, the mother, but the step-mother of Mr. Sidney Herbert]) the youngest daughter of Count Neesselrode, wife of the Saxon ambassador Von Seebach, dined the other day at the Tuilleries; and the Baroness of Meyendorff, wife of the Russian ambassador at Vienna, is actually the sister of Count Buol von Schanzenstein, the present Prime Minister and confidant of the youthful Emperor of Austria.

The Duke of Gotha has gone to Vienna, where he intends staying about a week. After that he will take up his residence at Reinhardtsbrunn, near Gotha.

Professor Wagén, the director of the picture gallery at the Royal Museum at Hamburg, will shortly leave for London, at the invitation of Prince Albert. His stay is likely to be a lengthy one.

Sir Fleetwood Pellew, late commander on the Chinese station, took his departure from the Winchester on the 16th March. The officers gave him a dinner; but it is significant that the men, who manned the yards in obedience to orders, gave their hated commander no parting cheer!

Jenny Lind has declined to attend the Worcester Festival in September next. Her plans for next summer will not permit her to attend.

According to the latest news from the United States, the President would recommend the blockade of Cuba, unless Mr. Soule's demands were complied with.

The Tower is now garrisoned by the Essex Rifles Militia Regiment, under Lord Jocelyn. This is the first regiment called on for garrison duty. It is 700 strong. The men

are armed with a short rifle, and a cut and thrust sword, capable of being used also as a bayonet.

Three regiments are spoken of as under orders for service in Greece—the 63rd, the 21st Fusiliers, and the 46th.

The Ninety-seventh Regiment sailed from Southampton on Saturday for the East, in the Orinoco; and on the same day the Forty-second Highlanders embarked at Portsmouth in the Hydaspe; and the second detachment of the First Royal Dragoons from Liverpool in the Arabia and Rip van Winkle.

The citizens of Montreal held a public meeting on the 4th inst., and passed strong resolutions, expressing their cordial and united support of the Queen in the war with Russia. The people of Canada, they say, are ready to repel boldly any aggression from abroad, and to maintain tranquillity at home.

It is seriously asked what is the Prince doing with the soldiers' foraging-caps? Those lately constructed are exactly like pastrycooks' pudding-moulds; they are neither comfortable, protecting, or pleasant to the eye. They have no shade in front, they do not cover the back of the head, and they make the ears stick out like those of blue jack, the orang-outang at the Zoological Gardens. It seems to be an hereditary peculiarity in princes with German ancestors to essay fresh designs for integuments of every kind. The Germans are all good clothes-cutters, and at some dark period of history the scions of royalty must have sprung from or had a graft with a tailor. What said Horne of George the Fourth,

"The dandy of sixty who bows with a grace,  
And has taste in collars, cuirasses and lace."

Read Horace Walpole about William of Cumberland's etiquette for the military costume. So in our days our Prince is the Clothing Colonel *par excellence*.

Messrs. Colnaghi have published a noble and cheap panoramic sketch of Cronstadt, drawn by Mr. Dolby on the 30th of April. This eminent and enterprising firm are also about to issue a companion sketch of Sebastopol, from the drawings so deliberately taken by Lieutenant O'Reilly in the Retribution. Meantime they have again sent Mr. Dolby to the Baltic to transmit home drawings of incidents, costume, and country.

The New York Crystal Palace was, on the 4th instant, opened as a permanent exhibition. Mr. Horace Greeley, Mr. Packe Godwin, Mr. Phineas Barnum, Mr. Elihu Burritt, and others were the spokesmen on the occasion.

The beard and moustache movement in Southampton is very popular. Among those who have discarded the razor in that town are the chief magistrate, the town-clerk, and several of the most respectable tradesmen.

The Free Church of Scotland raises a revenue of 287,574L yearly by voluntary contribution; a fact worth noticing by those who contend that the Church of England would suffer for lack of church-rates.

Sir George Campbell, elder brother of the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, died at his seat, Edenwood, Fifeshire, a few days since. Sir George, who was knighted a bachelor in 1833, was by one year the senior of the Lord Chief Justice, who was born in 1779.

Lieutenant W. H. Hooper, a distinguished young officer, who commanded the second cutter in the remarkable voyage of the boats of her Majesty's ship Plover, from Iey-cape to the Mackenzie, in search of Sir John Franklin, died at Brompton on Friday morning last. His premature death was occasioned by disease of the lungs, brought on by constant exposure and severe hardships and sufferings. Lieutenant Hooper, having, on one occasion, been lost for three days in a snowstorm, and passed two lonely winters away from his ship in log huts, with a few of his boat's crew, near the northern shores of America, living chiefly upon offal fish.

George Clint, once an Associate of the Royal Academy, and President of the Artists' Fund, died last week at the advanced age of eighty-four.

The Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Insolvent Court. Mr. Baldwin, died of apoplexy on Wednesday morning. This is a piece of Government patronage.

Cardinal Lambruschini, Bishop of Porto San Rufino and Civita Vecchia, the oldest member but one of the Sacred College, and Secretary of the Pontifical Briefs, died at Rome on the 12th of May. He was born at Genoa on the 16th of May, 1776, and was Prime Minister under Pope Gregory XVI.

Prince Albert has in a characteristic fashion declined the proffered Challis statue, as a memorial of the Great Exhibition. Having been consulted on the best means of commemorating that event by Mr. Challis, he replied through his secretary, recommending the foundation of scholarships for proficients in science and art, and offering to subscribe himself. Of course there was no allusion to the statue in the correspondence; the Prince's letter sets the affair at rest for ever.

The new city street, running from King William-street to St. Paul's Churchyard, and styled Cannon-street West, was opened in due state on Monday. It is said that the corporation have resolved to keep open the space between Old Change and St. Paul's. We hope the statement is true.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on Monday, the Founder's Medal was bestowed on Admiral Smyth for his book on the Mediterranean; and the Patron's Medal upon Captain McClure, the discoverer of the North-West Passage. Government has granted the society 500L a year for a map-room—a really useful grant. The funds of the society show a considerable increase in receipts over last year.

The Anti-Slavery Society does not seem to have met with much support of late years. The deficit last year was 288L; this year it is 195L. Lord Shaftesbury presided at the annual meeting on Monday.

The Royal Agricultural Society is prospering. At the half-yearly meeting, on Monday, the report showed an advance in the number of members, and a sound financial condition. There are now 5177 members. Mr. William Miles has been chosen the new president. It is remarkable that no fewer than 143 persons have offered to supply manure equal to guano at less than 5L a ton, in reply to the offer of a prize for manure on fulfilling these conditions.

The Botanical Society in Regent's-park held its first flower show on Wednesday. The exhibition differed from its predecessors in a remarkable way. The whole floral collection was placed on terraces of turf under one capacious canvas awning, with gravel paths between the terraces. The show was very good; and the company as usual distinguished.

A deputation from the inhabitants of Lambeth waited upon Viscount Palmerston, on Monday, to solicit his interference with regard to the arrangements of the promoters of the London Necropolis and National Mausoleum Company, who have obtained possession of nine of the arches of the London and South-Western Railway, between the Waterloo and Westminster-roads, for the purpose of depositing the corpses, prior to their removal by the company by railway to their cemetery at Woking-common, those arches being situated in the most thickly-populated part of Lambeth, and consequently having a great tendency to endanger the public health. Lord Palmerston said he could not interfere.

The French Government have prohibited the exportation from France of all hemp the growth of France, or on which the French import duty has been paid. Many British merchants and manufacturers had made purchases of hemp at Havre and Nantes, and have been much annoyed to find the removal of their property to this country prohibited, especially as it was so much needed here for manufacturing purposes. The application of our Ambassador at Paris to the Government has been fruitless, and our merchants have been obliged to sell again in France, and at a loss.

The mutual principle of life assurance seems fully established. Take, as an illustration, the Kent Mutual Life Assurance Society, which held its fourth annual meeting last Monday. Out of 549 policies applied for last year, 371 were issued and 178 rejected. The policies issued assured claims to the amount of 168,253L. The claims by death in the same year were three; the sum 723L. The assets of the company on the 24th March were 28,590L. The benefits of life assurance to the working classes do not need urging; but we may mention that a caulk in the Chatham Dockyard paid but two quarters' premium, amounting in all to 7L, and upon his death 23L, the amount of his policy, was paid to his family; and a weaver, at Tonbridge Wells, dying after paying only one half-year's premium, 2L 6s. in all, his family received 100L, the sum assured.

Only fourteen public acts have received the royal assent in the present session, now sitting nearly four months. Fewer acts are expected to be passed in this session than in former years.

The sum to be moved for in the present year for the convict establishments in the colonies is 342,702L, being an increase on the preceding year of 28,648L.

Emigration to Canada fell off somewhat last year. The number of emigrants was 36,699; of whom 18,972 were Irish, the greater part women.

The intimate connexion between the United States and our Australian colonies is manifested by the fact that the exports from the former to the latter, which in 1851 were only 2,807,356L, were in 1853, 14,506,532L.

A very large immigration of Chinese continues in California and Australia.

Lieutenant Crawley, who commanded the unfortunate steam-gun-boat Jasper, which blew up off Beachy Head, has been honourably acquitted by a court-martial.

Jessie Launder, a young lady of respectable connexions, hung herself for love in an hotel at Glasgow last week. To effect this she unfastened the cord of the window-blind, ecked out its length with her boot and stay laces, threw it over the shutter, and so hung herself. She was found in her night-dress. Letters addressed to her relatives and friends were found in the room. One of them was to a young man whom she called her own Jim, her dear husband, and whom she conjured to leave off drinking, and to come and receive her body at Glasgow, and lay her head in the grave. It would appear that she had written to him a few days before, and that he had not answered the letter. The answer arrived on the morning she was found dead by the servant who carried it in.

Upon the occasion of the recent announcement of a free discharge to the convicts in Newgate prison, Dublin, under sentence of penal servitude, so overjoyed were four of them at the sudden intelligence that they dropped dead.—*Saunders's Newsletter*.

It is stated that the steamer *Australian* has been totally lost in Table Bay, while on her homeward voyage. She had sixty or seventy passengers on board, and 500,000L worth of gold. She ran ashore in a thick fog.

#### Postscript.

SATURDAY, May 27th.

In the House of Commons, last night, Sir JAMES GRAHAM was subjected to several interpellations, and successively replied, that he feared the concurrent testimony of various telegraphic accounts led to the belief that the *Tiger* steam-frigate had been taken at Odessa; that the *Sinope* troop-ship was a most effective vessel for the transport of troops; that it was impossible to take medical officers on board gun-boats, and that surgeons were the less necessary, as gun-boats would never be employed in action except in close proximity to large vessels; that a rigorous blockade was established in the Baltic and Black Sea, which would be notified in the *Gazette* as soon as he received an official report of the fact; and that it was not the present intention to establish a blockade in the White Sea.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in answer to Lord DUBLIN STUART, said that a protocol had been signed at Vienna, between England, France, Austria, and Prussia, but its only object was to put on formal record the fact of conventions having been severally

entered into between England and France, and between Austria and Prussia.

The House then went into Committee of Ways and Means, and passed through that stage the resolution on spirit duties in Scotland, the Excise Duties Bill, and the Income-tax Bill. The Oxford University Bill was also advanced a stage in Committee.

In the House of Lords a similar answer was given to Lord Malmesbury by Lord CLARENCE, on the subject of the protocol just signed at Vienna, as was given by Lord John Russell in the Commons. Lord CLARENCE also stated that he would in a few days state the grounds on which the Government had decided on the occupation of Greece. He at the same time declared his disbelief of any treaty having been entered into between Russia, Bokhara, and Khiva.

The Landlord and Tenant Ireland Bill, and the Leasing Powers Ireland Bill, were read a third time, and passed.

The *Constitutionnel* announces a fact which for its significant bearing upon the religious phase of the Eastern question deserves confirmation. The Prince Leon of Armenia is reported to be about to proceed to Rome to negotiate with the Pope in person the reconciliation of the Eastern Church to the Holy See. This Prince, who is of the reigning house of Armenia, and, consequently, one of the most distinguished representatives of the Eastern Church, is said to be a personage of rare intelligence, and conciliatory manners, thoroughly competent to the success of a mission of the deepest moment to the Christian communities in the East.

The *Moniteur* publishes a report of the naval forces of France, which announces a surprising development of the maritime resources of the Empire, both in ships actually in commission and in reserve. The number of screw line-of-battle ships, and of powerful steam-frigates, indicates the enormous efforts of the present Government of France to dispense, we trust in friendly rivalry, our own supremacy of the seas.

The active portion of the French naval forces is divided into three squadrons.

1. The Baltic squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Parseval-Deschênes, is composed of thirty-one sail, and has lately been reinforced by eight powerful steamers.

2. The Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Hamelin, and the Ocean squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Burat, are combined under the orders of Vice-Admiral Hamelin in the Black Sea, and comprise altogether twenty-nine sail.

3. The subdivision, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Le Barbier de Toulon, destined to operate in the waters of Greece, is composed of fourteen sail, of which nine are steamers.

Besides these three divisions there are, according to the *Moniteur*, seventeen steam-frigates and corvettes in the port of Toulon, completely armed and capable of embarking 12,000 troops at a moment's notice. Finally, a *squadron of reserve* is in course of organisation, to be comprised of fourteen line-of-battle ships, entirely new, of which seven are fitted with auxiliary screw steam-power.

The *Madrid Gazette* of the 20th inst. contains the decree (dated the 19th inst.) authorising the forced loan; inviting the civil governors and administrators of the provinces to send in their contributions within a month. From the terms of the decree, it appears that the contributions are to be sent in by the municipalities, and by them to be levied on manufactures and trade. The whole is to be sent in within thirty days of the subscription; to be reimbursed by instalments of  $\frac{1}{2}$  at Midsummer and Christmas, in 1855, 6, 7, and 8. The bonds are to bear interest at six per cent.

H. M. frigate Meander, from the Cape station has arrived at Plymouth with the Australia's mails, in all nine tons. The Australia got ashore at Green Point, Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, but got off without assistance on the 6th April, and would sail for London about the 17th of that month. The gold was at the Cape Bank all safe, and the cargo had been taken out. Little damage had been sustained by the vessel. The passengers remained on board.

The latest intelligence from Constantinople is to the 15th inst. At that date the Russians were advancing from the Dobrudscha. They had cut off communication between Silistria and Varna, as well as the sea coast, and they had done the same between Varna and Shumla.

The allied armies were in motion, in order to co-operate with Omer Pacha, and form his reserve. A French force must by this time have arrived at Adrianople. A French division was on its march from Gallipoli to Constantinople. The English division of the corps of light infantry at Scutari received marching orders on the 14th. It was thought the route was for Varna.

#### TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 7, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

## The Leader.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1854.

### Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD

#### WAR PROFITS FOR THE PEOPLE.

SOME honest folks, who are far from regretting the opportunity of giving Absolutism a check through its great leader, Russia, are regretting the war as a moral evil, as a pecuniary burden, as a draught upon the industry of the country. For our own part, we have never concealed our conviction that the war is in itself absolutely a good; but let us explain somewhat more in detail, as we know it can reach the doubting minds of our friends, how it is that the war is so substantially a blessing.

We have already pointed to the fact, which we believe to be undeniable, that there is no instance in history of a great empire rising to such point of wealth and power as to become tranquil, without rivals to combat and to conquer, which has not from that time begun to decline, and ultimately sunk to a destruction, consummated more by its own debility than through the power of its external assailants. Greece, Rome, and Italy do not furnish the only instances of our meaning. The signs of the disease of empires had begun to appear amongst us in the extravagantly elaborate luxury to which so many of the educated classes were giving way; in the creeping on of an opinion that contests with other states had fallen totally into disuse; in a disposition to relinquish the hard fare of military life to paid servants; and in a total subordination of other objects to lucre. The Turk who asked the English Embassy at a ball, why they did not let their servants do the dancing for them, only paralleled our commercial men, who asked statesmen why they did not let paid servants alone do military duty for them?

But independently of that broad principle, which nations should never lose sight of, there are certain facts well known to our friends, which may make them better appreciate the change in the turn of affairs. War, they say, is a moral evil, arousing passions hateful to Christianity and to humanity. Let us, however, point at the change already observable on the face of society amongst us. Two years ago,—one year,—six months ago, class was arrayed against class,—democrats were sighing for the overthrow of aristocrats; economists were teaching that paupers are a nuisance to be endured, but repressed by “repulsive” government; farmers were treating

their labourers as beasts to be stinted and scourged; landlords were driving labourers off their fields, and holding down farmers under oppressive leases; the country party was inveighing against the towns, the towns were claiming to rule the country according to the rules of narrow political economy; class looked upon class with cold and careless eye, caring naught for the welfare of a fellow-creature; going decently to church and hearing established doctrine, but treating practical Christianity as a whim, a folly, a *naisserie*. Now, what do we see? Party divisions are forgotten, except by party leaders, whose cleverest stimulants can scarcely keep up party zeal. A great industrial contest in the North has declined, partly through the combination of employers, but partly also through the dying out of internal discord in the face of a great claim upon the common feeling of the nation. Farmers are agreeing with landlords that free-trade is not incompatible with general prosperity. The most conspicuous movement of the day is a social effort to secure comfort for the wives and children of our unnamed heroes; and the war, which is dogmatically denounced as discord, has become the occasion for calling forth the unanimous expression of national feeling, of willingness to undertake heavy burdens, of cheerful advance to perform dangerous duties, of a desire to unite throughout the country—an unanimity that has not been witnessed in the day of any man living, or been recorded in our history for generation upon generation. Instead of being a sound of discord, the war to put down the crowned demon of discord, the Czar, has been the great key-note of harmony for our own country.

The Founder of Christianity said that he came not as peace, but as a sword—as peace, where men could accept the word of love; a sword, where wrong roused its rebel head against the beneficent laws of divinity. Christianity has its sword as well as its palm branch; and the sword often carves the way for planting the palm.

War is dreaded as a pecuniary burden; but what was our position before the declaration? The most highly developed department of trade, the cotton manufacture, had evidently reached those limits beyond which its enlargement was a work of enormous exertion, with comparatively little increase of profit; breeding cotton-workers faster than we could spread the field of their employment. Sir Robert Peel had proclaimed free-trade; but the grand impediment to it was anarchy on the continent—anarchy maintained under the name of “order,” keeping nations divided that they might be ruled by the few, and absolutely preventing the extension of commerce. Russia was the head and front of this offending. She who kept her peasants slaves, who taxes her landlords in agricultural labours, and sustained Absolutism throughout the continent, perpetuated exclusive commerce for fear lest between bales of goods the popular or republican doctrines of our own country should be introduced. Russia, however, has now carried her exclusive policy beyond endurance; our Ministers, full loth, are forced to the duty of overturning her. The proof of our sincerity has restored the confidence of foreign countries in us, and France is joining heartily in the alliance, people as well as Emperor. There does appear a chance that the down-trodden peoples of the continent, and most especially those whose land and industry pine to exchange with ours,—Italy, Hungary, Southern Germany, and France,—will be relieved of the prejudices, the oppressions, the restrictions that have kept them from us; and the war, which may cost us a few millions, may end in setting free an Old World as well as a New, worth as many millions yearly to our

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own trade. The opportunity is worth the investment.

But we bring it home closer to the industrious man. It is said that war will drain our industry, and that taxes will oppress the poor. Now what was our prospect last year? It is evident that the next improvements for the extension of industry will consist in applications of improved machinery to field and factory. Machinery displaces labour, and the displaced labourer starves. By the blessing of God, the development of colonies, fertile and free, and now also this call of war, are acting as a summons to our "surplus population," who recruit our colonies, our armies, and our navies, with equal readiness and ardour. The example of those brave men, whose strength and daring can be seen by any one that notes the march of recruits through the streets, acts with a life-giving impulse on those who remain behind. Fewer labourers are left, and the employing classes will yet be put to their wits to get the work of industry done. Machinery will be improved under the press of that ingenuity, and the great domestic want of our commerce will be accelerated. Will the remaining labourer suffer? The improved character of industry will secure to him higher wages; while the labourer who was to have been "displaced" is already gone to the colony, to the battle-field, or the naval victories of a Napier. The pittance which will be extracted even from the labouring man for his contribution towards the war will be returned to him in higher wages—doubled in some instances, or more than doubled; for at this moment, the Irish labourer, who rejoiced in 3s. 6d. per week, is earning 9s.; and the wages of the English labourer afield not long hence will perhaps mount to the standard of Manchester.

The profits of the war, certain to be reaped if it be properly administered, are—revived national feeling; new fields opened to our commerce; and facilities given for improving our machinery, industry, and wages, without detriment to the labourer—nay, securing to him a position of more independence towards his employer, of more importance towards the State.

#### THE CHURCH-RATE QUESTION.

**HOW AND WHEN IT WILL BE SETTLED.**  
WE take no joy in Sir William Clay's victory. Church-rates are doomed, but not by Sir William's majority. This casual advance in a thin House is one of the windfalls in which minorities may rejoice, but which great countries cannot accept as deeds. The great "Corporation of soothsayers," which holds feudal possession of the parishes, possesses an insurance worth millions sterling against displacement—is allied with every official department in the country, is incorporated through the monarch with our constitution, is not to be overturned by the unexpected division which has glorified Sir William. It is true that the Church itself confesses, in the impossibility of levying church-rates throughout the country its non-national character—avows that its hold over the English people is doomed,—true that the building of churches by private subscriptions confesses its adoption of the voluntary principle, and places it *de facto* in the position of a sect. But a sect retaining the manorial rights, the impropriation of tithes, as unjustly as if they were diverted to temporal purposes, but as securely in the eye of the law as if the whole country had consented, and Parliament had ratified, the bestowal of the parish churches and the revenues from all the cathedrals and the prebendal stalls upon the Mormons or upon the Secularists.

Possession is nine points of the law; in-

deed it is the whole law when no concurrence can be obtained for ousting the possessor. A minority amongst minorities, the Church of England is safe against displacement through the discord of other sects,—through that state of public feeling and opinion in this country, which makes men more conscious of their differences with each other than of their agreement. We have little respect for each other, and we, the public, therefore are impotent to enforce any general judgment. The fleas, said Curran, speaking of an inn, were numerous enough to have dragged him out of bed if they had been unanimous; but we, who are as numerous as the fleas, are as little united as they were, on theological subjects. We know the Church of England to be a sect in a minority, but it laughs at our efforts of turning it out of place, and justly laughs. It depends on the traditions of the country; on the past, if not the present, unanimity of the people; and we who have not the past unanimity to sustain us traditionally, have not the virtue to realise any present unanimity, or the candour and zeal to work out the future unanimity. We cannot accomplish many things which we impotently declare to be necessary: sanitary reform, Parliamentary reform, public education—all stand in order of necessity before the abolition of church-rates; but we cannot say that one is more likely to be accomplished than the other. It appears that, on these matters, as well as on economical questions, we owe something to our great enemy the Emperor of Russia.

On one point, at least, he has taught us to be unanimous. On the European battle-field we do not ask our comrade what is his creed, what are his views upon education, secular or otherwise, or how far he would extend the suffrage? We only know that he is an Englishman; we know that he will stand by us as we will stand by him; and we will share the fight, we will honestly divide the victory or the defeat. And afterwards, when we have gone through the toil and the danger, still remembering that we are both Englishmen, having learned that we are both hearty in our regard for each other, having acquired a mutual respect for each other's purposes and power, we may discover that we can agree even on such subjects as Parliamentary reform, public education, or church-rates; we may find that whatever our class or birth, being both Englishmen, we can trust each other. We may discover on the battle-field how just it is that the man standing beside us, partaking the danger, the defeat, and the victory, should equally share whatever the nation can give to its sons, be it the allowance of education, a voice in the election, or a standing-place in church,—ay, a church even after his own conscience. We might have accepted facts as they are, and without requiring every Englishman to think as we think, respecting his opinions, because they are his, at such time we may discover how good it is to give an Englishman a school to learn in, a Parliament to be represented in, a church to pray in, without much regard to worn-out parties, obnoxious tests, or exhausted creeds; and then we may discover that the education rate, or the church-rate, must be levied upon the Englishman, and returned to him in a Parliament which is his, a school which is his, a church which is his, whatever either one of those great institutions may be.

#### A COUNTER-BLAST FOR SOULE.

THERE is a redemption for Spain. Any lover of his country cannot help feeling a great anxiety with respect to its future fate, not at a distant hour, but even from day to day. The position of that kingdom is critical on all sides. The probability that it may be

about to enter upon war with the United States is not the only cause for solicitude; and although it looks spirited to send out 6000 troops to defend the Spanish West Indies, no Spaniard who has not recklessly cast discretion to the winds can view without apprehension the commencement of a contest with the powerful republic in the west. How much more when the position at home is so precarious!

It is all very well to enter upon war with traditional Spanish courage, but war is costly, and how can it be sustained by a Government whose bankrupt condition, long notorious in every money market of Europe, is again proclaimed by the announcement of "a forced loan," to bear interest at 6 per cent., and accompanied by the financial joke of a profession that "it shall be refunded in four years." A Spanish loan *refunded* in four years! As to the high interest, it does not much matter, since Spanish interest is nominal. It has been found difficult, if not impossible, to establish in Spain those railways which are urgently demanded by the honest and trading part of the country; but such is Spanish credit that capital cannot be found. How then can it be discovered for the purposes of a war with America, or for the purposes of a Court which it is difficult to characterise politely?

There are, indeed, two alternative measures which Spanish statesmen are at present discussing. There is a general agreement that it is necessary to turn over a new leaf, but which way to turn the leaf is the question. The Court party, which is in possession of power, talks of turning over an *old* leaf—turning back in the book of history; and by a *coup d'état* re-establishing an absolute monarchy. The Opposition, which is very numerous, talks of turning over a new leaf in the other direction, and abolishing the Court by a revolution. Neither party likes to begin, from a feeling that whichever commences will run the greater risk. Both projects, however, are so notorious that they are actually discussed in mystic language between the advocates of the several sides.

Such is the critical position of the kingdom, when Queen Isabella resorts to a step which creates some hope of an intervention that may yet, perhaps, rescue Spain. Her Majesty has appointed herself "Elder Sister of the religious community of Our Lady of the Rosary of Granada," and has entrusted the sisterhood with the duty of ringing a bell from the eve of the first Sunday in October until sundown on their day of festival. In various countries peopled by the Spanish race it has been the custom, on the threatening of a volcanic eruption or earthquake, to ring consecrated bells; and let us hope that this tinkling will be effectual to exorcise and avert the political earthquake in Spain.

#### THE FIEND IN THE HOUSE.

It has been observed by those who are experienced in mining, that when deep excavations are made, and the soil is turned up, certain flowers are sure to spring from the newly-exposed earth. We do not know whether any trace of ancient germs can be discovered; we only state the patent fact. Each soil has its own form of life and beauty, which can survive the roughest treatment, and the deepest burial; and so it appears if we dig into the lowest strata of society. At present there is a wonderful upheaving and upturning of these lowest strata; our police-courts are full of crimes and depravities which would put the wildest French novelism to the blush. Base and brutal murder is becoming a common event, as it has frequently been at distant periods before; but

worse than that, brutalized licentiousness takes forms which reverse the order of nature, and we find the parental instincts themselves deadened and depraved. Parents sell their children's lives for burial fees, to drudge and starve them to death, or deny their offspring, or attempt to debauch the purity which they should guard. It would seem that in many a house of this moral country there lives a hideous fiend. Cenci, the monster of Papal Rome in the days of its most corrupt luxury, is imitated and paralleled; and, what is worse, there is no spirit of genuine chivalry to seek out this Endriago, to challenge and to destroy it.

Two stories, striking amongst a legion for their hideous character, provoke these reflections. In one, at the Thames Police-court, on Friday, Mr. Emmot, a wholesale confectioner, accused a young woman of annoying him by ringing the bell of his house, and the defence brought forth the story. A servant in the house of her prosecutor's father, the woman had been seduced under a promise of marriage, had accompanied the seducer to Africa, had been the mother of three children, "had," as she said to him before the magistrate, "been a good wife to him and a mother to his offspring." She is described as being comely and respectable. The "beauty" of the children engaged the instinctive affections of the magistrate, who told the complainant that "any father might be proud of them." The man did not deny the fidelity of the woman, he could not gainsay the comely and creditable appearance of this his family; but the beauty of the children, the appeal of faithful affection, which moved the magistrate and the audience, had no voice for him. He said, "Let her summon me for the children—I will pay the 7s. 6d. per week." That is the measure of his moral conscience.

The other story is scarcely less shocking. A widow and a widower have married; the woman having a son seven years of age, the man a daughter and a son, nine and six years of age. The woman, who has been a dresser at a theatre, indulges in high flown language, in frequent drams, and in a discrimination between her own child, who is comfortably fed, and her step-children who are starved, neglected, and oppressed. Billy, the stepson, has told the father that his half-brother had got him into trouble; Tommy, the woman's son, tells his mother; and the woman, intoxicated with drams and a theatrical exaltation of mind and tongue, beats, kicks, and knocks about the little boy, until he actually dies. The pathetic appeal of the wretched child, the remonstrance of the woman's own infant son, and the eloquent silence of the elder sister, failed to check the miserable woman. But to us the most mournful and painful part of the tale is the quiet steadiness with which the little girl pursues her duties to her murdered brother, to her father, and even to the household, throughout that frightful tragedy. The summons to Billy to come and be washed, when he was half killed, her care to "wipe up the slop"—"the blood and water," she explained to the magistrate,—before her father came home; her quiet concealment of her own bleeding eye, lest he should see it—all proclaimed a long enduring habit of suffering, horrible to the imagination when we remember that the sufferers were so young, so tender, so helpless. For their father must have known their sufferings in their aspect; but he was no defence to them.

In this shameful quiescence the man,—who appears to be really afflicted by the disaster that has occurred,—does perhaps but present an exaggerated example of conduct very common amongst the uneducated class. How often do we hear our friends amongst

the democratic circles inveigh against "gentlemen" for qualities of an ungenerous kind; and how often, on witnessing conduct of this sort amongst the uneducated class, and even amongst men of the working class who cannot claim to be uneducated, do we call to mind the contrast afforded between them and the "gentlemen" whom they so often upbraid. One of the most painful incidents of such scenes as the one we have described is the passiveness of the bystanders. There has been too much of this contrast. In former times, before the new police became the guards of London streets, it was most frequently the "gentleman" who became the protector of any woman, child, or helpless man, insulted or oppressed by another. It is true that in the present day men wearing good coats will witness outrages, and will abstain from interference on a calculation of their own competency to master the aggressor; and an imitation of the working-class forbearance is spreading amongst the well-dressed class. But we do not believe that any gentleman, not incapacitated by positive infirmity, would witness an assault on a woman or a child without interfering; still less would he endure the spectacle so often witnessed in the "low" streets, of brutal tyranny by husband or parent.

It is true that in many cases the gentleman might be too feeble in frame to conquer, but that is not the question: the obligation under which he acts is a sense that the principle of defending womanhood or childhood against physical violence is greater than the safety or even the life of any one man. So completely is that feeling identified with the institutions of gentle birth, that it becomes hereditary; and the man who violated the obligation would feel that he had degraded his ancestors and his descendants by bringing a stain upon the family escutcheon. It is, we believe, far more than hereditary aptitude, that unreasoning, foregone resolution, which gives spirit to "blood," and has so often made the gentleman superior in conflict with those who seem stronger than himself, and are certainly not less brave. For bravery is one of the commonest and most equally spread qualities of the English race.

The man, however, who thus vindicates a principle of true chivalry does more than rescue the victim for the moment; he also exhibits personally an example of that conviction which is deep-rooted in the whole class,—that the generous vindication of right is more important than the safety or the life of any man. By the self-same example he tends to produce in those who stand around admiration for the lofty impulses which thus lend lustre to birth, and derive sanction from the hereditary suffrage of the whole highest class of the country; and at the same time he excites an abhorrence of the brutal and mean spirit which deliberately calculates personal safety, and prefers connivance in cowardly tyranny. That true nobility of spirit is as open to any working man as to a gentleman who can trace his descent from the Knights of the Conquest or of Palestine; and the working class are as well able to understand that for every victim rescued a moral check is put upon the tyranny over other victims.

Sympathy with natural life-giving right is the principle of all true chivalry, which cannot be entirely smothered by any class habits or social conventions. Even these two cases exhibit something of the immortal spirit. The little girl who quietly pursued her duties through the whole storm of murder—who mutely protested against the crime of her stepmother without flinching in her affection—who concealed her own sufferings; the magistrate who, breaking through the ordinary

distinctions between "legitimate" and "illegitimate," pointed to the "beauty" of the children as claiming the proud acknowledgment of the father—both these persons attested the force of the noblest instincts of our humanity.

#### A QUESTION OR TWO TO THE ADMIRALTY.

THE sufficiency or insufficiency of attention to the wants of our forces in the Baltic and Black Sea is much debated—with exaggeration, we suspect, on both sides. We believe that unusually honest pains have been devoted to secure adequate provision; but that those who have had the actual exercise of the duty have in some important instances failed. Of the latter fact we have evidence for which we can vouch as beyond all question. A letter from a friend in the Baltic fleet, whose position enables him to speak with personal knowledge, suggests to us these two questions:

1. Why should officers be debarred the luxury of letters from home?
2. Why should ships cleared for action be unprovided with the common necessities for the wounded?

#### A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

A BROAD-BOTTOM Government, it now appears, is a Government shaped like a Chinese child's toy—a Government which is at once the most shaky and the most steady,—whose function it is to be knocked about, and whose impracticability it is that it cannot be upset. Here is the Coalition, this week, concluding a series of disasters which would have destroyed any dozen ordinary Administrations. On Thursday night it got beaten on the last of the list of measures which it had to present out of its programme of the session,—for though the Oxford Bill was going through committee last night, it is a bill considerably mutilated, and which has yet to run the gauntlet of the House of Lords. How account for these consecutive catastrophes to a Cabinet which, while beaten on all its plans of statesmanship, has *carte blanche* for practical government, as testified by a vote in favour of the two budgets on the part of a majority, nine out of ten of whom considered that Mr. Gladstone had been making mistakes? The fact appears to be that when a Government is in power, not as a party Government, not as a statesmanlike Government, but simply as an administrative Government, with but one principle,—the advisability of carrying on public affairs,—there is nothing to restrain the mass of members from voting according to their own convictions, or the conviction of their constituents,—both of which would be repressed were there a party organisation, and were it understood that a defeated Cabinet would resign. Jones knows that his vote doesn't matter to Hayter—much, while it may matter to certain austere crews of attorneys or clericals, down in his borough, very much: and while he thus improves his seat, he can afford to be indifferent either to the agonies of Lord John or to the apathy of the public. It may be that when Mr. Disraeli comes next month to his cynical review of the career of the Coalition, he may not take that philosophic view of the present genius of the House of Commons. It will be his business to laugh at all the talents who could do nothing, and to sneer at the men, who, now conquered twice a week, used to declaim upon the degradation of Lord Derby remaining in power while impotent to promote his personal policy. But everyone sees that, in Parliament, we are playing at peace, just as in the Black and Baltic Seas we are playing at war.

And accordingly, as a division does not matter except as a vexation to an individual, so the whole interest of this active week has been a personal interest. Indeed, what better evidence could we have that we have nothing really to do, than that three days of the week have been devoted to religion? Just as on Sundays we take care of our souls because a

traditional police closes our shops, so, when business flags, agile members, of irrepressible energies, take to sermonising other members on the inexpediency of being damned. Last night and Monday night were secured by the watchful Chancellor of the Exchequer for the purpose of turning our representative institutions to account in taxing a people who don't know what the money is wanted for. But Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were monopolised by gentlemen intent upon the demonstration that the Almighty cannot take care of Himself—the subjects—religious instruction in vagrant schools,—the repair of church steeples and parish clerks' small clothes,—the teaching of worldly arithmetic to cloistered nuns,—and the impropriety of letting Jews into the House of Commons to vote against Mr. Disraeli—which Jews, being decent democrats, generally would. And, perhaps, on the whole, though it is to be regretted that the House of Commons should be a synod, the public, perfectly indifferent to everything in this world, except objectless slaughter at the seat of war, has taken more kindly to this species of debate than to the average discussions of Tory squires, Whig doctrinaires, and Radical savants. At least when a man is told, as Lancelot told Mr. Disraeli's ancestress in Venice—"Be of good cheer, for truly I think thou art damned"—he gets excited, and, as debates get hot, the individual interest arises to fascinate and fix attention.

Who cared, on Thursday, what became of the Oaths Bill? A strictly Jew Bill would have excited no attention—it is only in a profound peace time that a Lionel Rothschild case turns up. And as the Oaths Bill was mismanaged into something more—into a relief bill to the consciences of Catholic members (can we not fancy Hayter, after an interview with his Irish friends Cully or Hawl, assisting in drawing up that clause?)—it became a measure which, giving the fanatics of one side an opportunity of plausible opposition, aroused no counter-fanaticism in its defence. There was a full House (at first, and then towards the last) because, on both sides, there was an ardent whip. But both sides were indifferent as to what might be the fate of the division; for both sides knew the bill was a mere advertisement of Coalition liberality, and was never intended, certainly never expected, to pass. Yet there was great interest as to individual action. Mr. Disraeli was the hero of the night. How would he act was the question of the moment. For the last four or five years, as the Jew Bill came round, his position as Tory leader appeared to become more and more untenable; and the climax of his perplexities appeared to have been attained on Thursday, when, the measure being enlarged into this Oaths Bill, his difficulty was that he would either have to sink his fealty to his race, or give a comprehensive vote in favour of a bill embodying a policy positively antagonistic to the Protestant principles of the party who trust him (and, perhaps, with more affectionate admiration than outsiders who are worldly would suppose) as guide, philosopher, and friend. His predicament, palpable in the very sullenness of his attitude, and the isolation of his seat, on Thursday,—and his very appearance astonished half the members, who thought he would shirk the whole quandary,—excited no doubt, a good deal of quiet laughter, but, on the whole, probably, elicited much generous sympathy; for the intellectual (perhaps too exclusively intellectual) ambition and laborious courage of this wonderful man have made friends for him wherever bold spirits are struggling—that is through all brave and busy England. That evening in the "club" departments of the House Mr. Disraeli's vote was as eagerly canvassed as "Dervish's" condition—members of his own party being as little in the secret resolves of their leader as the Government themselves. Sir Frederick Thesiger how is it that a not passionately scrupulous *Nisi Prius* lawyer, with a strong Hebrew cast of countenance, is so ferocious a Christian? talked his technical trivialities with the tautological intensity of a well-conducted forensic fanaticism amid an inattentive buzz of conversation; and when, hours later, the House had refilled, and Lord John was delivering a speech against oaths, so dull that it might have provoked Mr. Gladstone to swear, there was the hum of a thoroughly disrespectful audience. All eyes were on the collapsed and brooding figure of the weird-looking personage who sat as frontispiece to the benches of the Anglo-Saxon gentlemen representing the compact Conservatism of the realised capital of our civilisation—all tongues were incessantly in the controversy—what on earth could Mr. Disraeli do? His rising to speak, as Lord John, nettled at his own failure, sat down, was a sensation. There was the busting, resettling into seats, the rush from the outer lobbies, then the hesitating burst of cheering from the expectant party, and then the profound and anxious pause—all of which in the House of Commons indicate the excitement of a crisis of debate. Mr. Disraeli, sensitive to everything, aware of the interest, cognizant of the vast difficulties of his position, and of the enormous effort he had to make—perfectly alive to the fact that, in his case, there was now but a hair's breadth,—the turn of a phrase, the inflection of a sentence,—between the

sublime and the ridiculous—was nervous—but for the sublime audacity of a career every inch of which is calculated, I would say hysterical. Well, that being his position, you may judge of his speech by its results: and if it be, as seems probable, that he has converted a confusion into a triumph, it must be admitted that no language can describe the genius of the man capable of such dexterity. He contrived to do three things: to convince the Tories that he was a Christian, to persuade the Jews that he was a Jew, and—to throw out the bill! But it was difficult work; repeatedly he was toppling from the sublime into the ridiculous—ten times one exclaimed "he is lost." One watched his speech with some such anxiety as that aroused in the mind of the spectators who watch the sleeping Amina crossing the bridge—or as that felt by the friends of a chamois-hunter when he is dashing by precipices and careering over abysses. It was a tight-rope dancing speech. But the performer got through it; and fell into his last pose amid the mad plaudits of the relieved gazers. Yet was it only acting? Perhaps not altogether. The logic of his exposition of Lord John's blunder in hampering the cause of the Jews with needlessly obnoxious conditions for Christian acceptance, and of his fussy feebleness in provoking sectarian clamour by meddling with oaths which nobody cared about, was perfect—was fatal to the bill, as encouraging Liberal-Conservative wavers, like Mr. Goulburn and Mr. Muntz. It was impossible to hear this portion of Mr. Disraeli's address without admiring the masterly grasp of his mind, and without admitting his great capacity as a mere tactician in politics. But how reconcile the repeated declarations of his belief in the Divine protection which blesses the Jews, and curses those who curse them,—declarations offered with solemness never separated from conviction, with such a solemnity that one-half the House checked with a reverential "hush" the chuckling laughter which the other half could not resist,—with his protestation that, "as a Christian," he could not withhold the parliamentary franchise from Hebrew citizens. His party, evidently, at first puzzled, and then shocked, were gradually won over to him as he went on, and the roaring, reverberatory cheers which haloed him on in his contrast between the permanent policy of the Papacy and the wandering whims of an English Ministry, were the cheers of partisans perfectly confiding in their leader. Yet those who were not his partisans thought that he revealed himself even in that very contrast—for what did he mean but profound contempt for the petty epic of a passing history like that of the England in which he would be a statesman? He was unaffected in his sympathetic worship of the "intellectual invention" which he described the Papacy to be; and could there be any mistaking the covert sneer that the Jews the Parliament of England was half disposed to tolerate, would outlive even the memory of our "constitution"—as they had outlived Assyrian kings, Egyptian Pharaohs, the Cæsars, and the Caliphs? Again, what was it but a Mephistophelian sneer, his definition of the difference between Lord John's point of view and his own, Lord John being in favour of "religious liberty," and Mr. Disraeli out adopting that "respectable principle"? As I listened, amazed but fascinated, I could admire the party tactician unreservedly; but it was also apparent to me that I was listening to a man of genius, somewhat on one point,—the question of race—who was magnificently conscious of being an historical personage, a Joseph in a new Egypt, with just as much sympathy with English Tories as Mokannah may have had with his devotees in a pleasanter province of the sun. However, the dull dogs who are the English governing classes were not humiliated; and when the numbers were announced which left for another year or two a stigma of stupidity on English laws, they bellowed their brutal delight with a fierce fury which might have roused the dead in the contiguous tombs of the Abbey. Year 1854 in the most enlightened senate in the world!

The Government did not look proud of their defeat. Not that they care about what is called the principle of the Oaths' or of any other bill. Mr. Disraeli, thanking them for their earnestness, had sufficiently hinted that the Jews could afford to wait a century or so—but that they disliked to be so completely conquered, on this, their last show-measure, by a gentleman who had just been insinuating a homeless and passionless philosopher's scorn for all the creeds of their creed and their constitution,—who, with the lofty air of a superhuman sage, had talked of their Christianity as the fashion of a day, and of their three estates as the paltry foibles of a small people. Lord John was vexed; Lord John, though with all the "enlightenment" of a constitutional Whig, he felt his genius abashed by a contrast with the cosmopolitan ken on which his opponent ventured—felt, in short, bewildered, thus check-mated by an eccentric who would talk like neither Pitt nor Fox—who, in the heat and hurry of the moment, he might have taken for a Chaldee. Then Lord John was disgusted with the House: he didn't mind their dividing against him,—he is used to that; but they wouldn't hear him. This, indeed, was not the first humiliating

contrast for Lord John in the week. On Tuesday, on church-rates, he talked imbecilities, in a maundering style, no one attending to him, his own side contemptuous, the Tories he was leading present only to the number of a dozen, and half of his colleagues about to suggest *their* notion of his fitness for lead by plumping dead against him. The contrast was with Lord Stanley, who, vigorous and candid, is facing all sorts of difficulties in a man's manner, and with a statesman's logic; and who on Tuesday summed up the controversy on church-rates in a few forcible sentences, and sat down amid the applause extended frankly to every man who goes into politics with unaffected integrity—that is, who does not finesse and fumble, with the priggish and pragmatical airs of a constitutional Whig, balancing with acuteness and refining with wisdom, and, in the end, left laughed at in a mournful minority lobby. Of course the division for a church-rates repeal bill, like the division against the Oaths' Bill, doesn't matter; and the only possible importance of the dragging debate is connected with the advanced position taken by so prospectively powerful a personage as Lord Stanley, to whom his father's friends showed great respect on Tuesday, by staying away in large numbers (for they could not vote with him, and didn't like to vote against him)—thus, also, spiting the Government, which had got too large a majority on finance the previous evening. Lord John did not hear Lord Stanley. Lord John had been hiding away to the last moment, probably anticipating a count-out, which is a fine constitutional machinery to aid the statesmanship of a constitutional Whig. But Lord John no doubt heard of the cheers, and read his young friend's spirited speech, and, noticing also his young friend's expression of confidence (to the Knowledge Tax Society) in the democracy Lord Derby volunteered to "stem," must not Lord John be beginning to suspect that a new school of statesmanship is coming in? Not that the Radicals and Liberals are themselves talking in a way to intimate any perception that young Tories would be better leaders for them than old Whigs. The debate on the church-rates business was pitiable unintellectual on the part of the Dissenters, whose cause becomes a vulgarity when represented by such boisterous barbarians as Mr. Biggs or Mr. Crossley,—the latter suggesting, on Tuesday, that "the grittiest man as ever lived" (meaning Christ) was "a Dissenter"—a doctrine which made Mr. Newdegate shudder. Mr. Miall, certainly, on Thursday, delivered an admirable and philosophical argument, respectfully listened to, and appreciatively complimented; but his complete incapacity to get out of the chapel's and into the House's tone, indicates his indisposition to aim at real parliamentary position—the only sort of position which at all justifies a journalist wasting his time out of his sphere, and among the men of vulgar action called "members." Mr. Miall, however, may not choose to try: and his failure is not so discreditable as that of men who do try and don't succeed. Mr. Whiteside, for instance, is bent upon House of Commons' eminence; and he roared and gesticulated, on Thursday, with the laborious earnestness of a bigot in full-cry after a hypothetical Pope, and he was openly and derisively laughed down. The twang of the meeting-house offends, but the rampant vulgarity of Exeter Hall disgusts the House of Commons.

Mr. Thomas Baring obtained a great parliamentary success on Monday. The House here and there is possessed of men of first-rate intellect, which is never publicly exhibited but when they are drawn out of their privacy by the prominence of their own special subjects: and on Monday people were surprised and delighted to find a quiet man, who has kept to back benches—who, too busy in his own sphere to give himself up to Parliament, has never asked Parliament to give itself up to him—presenting himself as a party leader on finance, and developing such pre-eminent powers of argument and oratory as to mark him out as a City candidate for the Finance Ministry in the next Tory Government,—whenever that may be. The House likes incidents such as that: the general fame of the House benefits by these revelations of the latent power in its body among men who are ordinarily content to cheer Gladstone and Disraeli and Russell—the cheerers regarding those persons as entitled to such cheers because, when they are talking, they are performing what is the studied *business* of their lives: and Mr. Baring sat down, after each of his vigorous, vehement onslaughts, amid a tempest of applause directed at him from both sides. Granted that Mr. Gladstone, a master of debate, destroyed Mr. Baring:—he did not diminish Mr. Baring's success. Mr. Gladstone destroyed Sir Frederick Thesiger, on Thursday, on Sir Frederick's own ground,—a supple and subtle lawyer's ground,—superadding a display of eloquent and statesmanlike argument for religious toleration and against a synodical House of Commons, which will tell on the country; but, nevertheless, Mr. Disraeli did not fail on Thursday. Yet who but Mr. Gladstone could make two great speeches, on two essentially opposite themes, in one week?

*Saturday Morning.*

"A STRANGER."

## Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

In one of the pleasant letters of the SEVIGNE of Antiquity, whom Romans named the younger PLINY, that old excuse for not writing (having nothing to say) is rejected: “Write to me, then, to say that you have nothing to say,” adds the affectionate correspondent. *Olim nullas mihi epistolae mittis. Nihil est, inquit, quod scribam. At hoc ipsum scribe, nihil esse quod scribas.*

Our readers demand the same attention from us. We have often to say that we have nothing to say, when we cannot artfully disguise our poverty in paragraphs which seem to be full of news. At this moment Literature is stagnant. There is not a book which occupies the town—there is not a bit of gossip in which Literature has any interest. If we could with safety invent news as they do in the political world, our weekly task would be less onerous. But it is easier to bombard Odessa and set Bucharest in flames than to announce the completion of CARLYLE’s *Frederick*, MACAULAY’s new volumes, or TENNYSON’s poem. There is no deficiency of new publications, but new books are rare at all times, and at the present do not exist. The best novelty, after all, seems among the old books. DRYDEN, for example, whose complete works are contained in the three pocket volumes of PARKER’s *Annotated Poets*, is much newer, younger, fresher, not to mention his greater worth, than any of the “young poets,” whose echoes would faintly attract the ear; and ROBERT BELL has taken care to supply us with actual novelty in his editorial department. Then, again, the novels, *Mary Barton* and the *Blithedale Romance*, which CHAPMAN and HALL have republished in pretty volumes at two shillings, are surely more novel than the last new three volumes uncut upon our table. It is true we read *Mary Barton* and the *Blithedale Romance* some time ago; but so also have we read those uncut volumes—many times!—and while we feel that *Mary Barton* can be re-read with pleasure, terrible misgivings assail us respecting the ancient novelty as yet uncut.

There is, however, a novel announced which excites our hopes, and which we believe will be something new: WILKIE COLLINS is to give us his story of *Hide and Seek*. If he has but done himself justice there will be something to talk about.

The foundation of a Working Man’s College would be a great thing for England. It will come in time. To hasten that time, and also to instruct the public on some preliminary points relative to such an establishment, seems to be the desire of the Rev. FREDERICK MAURICE in the Course of Lectures he is to commence at Willis’s Rooms, on Thursday, 8th June. The syllabus of the six lectures on *Learning and Working* is so suggestive, that we print it entire:—

### LECTURE I.

Occasion of these Lectures—Proposal to found a College for Working Men—Questions which the proposal suggested—Primary question, Is it possible to do any good except to the rising generation?—How the opinion that it is not, has gained ground—Great attention to Primary Education since the latter end of the Eighteenth Century—Results of this attention—Boys’ Schools, Girls’ Schools, Infant Schools, for different classes—The point at which they stop, and the difficulty of passing beyond it—The question forced upon us on all sides, Can we educate Children unless we educate Adults?—This question affects all classes—How it bears on the recent Discussions in the Legislature respecting University Education—The evil which the Legislature is trying to meet by the new Bill;—how connected with this subject—The Education and Civilisation of Europe have not begun from children, but from adults—Illustrations of this point—Application of it to Female Education—General conclusion.

### LECTURE II.

Reference to the last Lecture—Attempt to reconcile the doctrine maintained in it with that which has been maintained by the supporters of Primary Education—Mistake of supposing that we are beginning to educate a man when we begin to teach him—What Education he has been receiving already—All our business is to consider how our teaching may fall in with what has been good in that education, and may counteract the evil of it. Hence the answer to another of the difficulties which the plan of a Working College has suggested,—Is not actual hard work inconsistent with education?—Great plausibility of that opinion—How experience refutes it—The craving for Industrial Schools in the poorer classes—The experience of young men at the Universities—Inferences from the History of Eminent Men of Letters—Application to Female Education—Conclusion: Work, not a hindrance to Education, but one of the great Instruments of Education.

### LECTURE III.

Mannual work not an exception from the maxim laid down at the close of the last Lecture—Evidences of this fact—Nevertheless there are great apparent obstructions to education in the present conditions of work in England—The first and most obvious obstruction is that from the Hours of Labour—This difficulty stated—How far it has been met already; how it may be met—Early Closing movement—Evening Classes—Mechanics’ Institutes—Importance of this subject—Further difficulties from the uncertainty and hopelessness of the work in which some Mechanics are engaged—This obstruction considered—How far it applies exclusively to one class—Wherever there is gambling, restlessness, want of sympathy, in workmen, rich or poor, there are hindrances to education—Application of the subject to Female Education—General conclusion: The Hindrances to Education from the character of work are hindrances which must be removed by some means or other, if England is to continue a nation.

### LECTURE IV.

The next great difficulty has reference to Education itself—Can we provide Teaching which shall be suitable to Men who are actually at work?—The experiments for this purpose already in operation considered—What valuable lessons are suggested by each of them—Upon what different and sometimes opposing principles they have proceeded—Special instances in the Secular, the Religious, and the Half-religious schemes of Education—Recent Hints respecting the teaching of common things—How it is possible to profit by these different hints—What the devisers and promoters of them are aiming at—What they warn us to do and not to do—How they encourage a hope that an education may be found at last which shall not be a substitute for work, or merely a supplement to it, but which shall interpret it, and be interpreted by it.

### LECTURE V.

The same subject continued—What Rules should be adopted as to the choosing or avoid-

ing any subject for the Instruction of one class of men or another—Whether it is necessary to make Education irregular and unmethodical for men who are at work—How it is possible to avoid those dangers—What subjects are really interesting to Working Men—Whether Politics must be avoided in our education of them—How it is to be taught if it is taught—Ethical Studies—Logic—Language—Physical Studies—Arts—Amusements—What Studies belong as much to women as to men—Question whether Theology is to find its place in such a Scheme of Education—Idleness of attempting to evade the question—The different answers to it considered.

### LECTURE VI.

Final difficulty: How men can ever be found to agree in carrying out an Education of this kind—The Difficulty a most real one—Hopelessness of expecting a Solution of it from the Legislature—Hopelessness of Appeals to the General Public—Each man has a Public of his own, a circle in which he can act—How to form a College which shall consist first of Teachers—How they may act and work together—How they may look in time to obtain Scholars—How there may be a number of such Colleges in all parts of the land—How the Maxims of one need not bind the rest—What different classes of men may take part in them—How, if each does his best, they must work together—Plan of the College which it is proposed to establish in London.

This syllabus will sufficiently inform our readers of Mr. MAURICE’s object; and it will suggest to reflective minds thoughts which will aid in the discussion of the great subject.

It is not necessary that you should have dissected turbots, or soles, in any more scientific spirit than that which commences dinner, to be fully aware of the peculiar deformity of those agreeable specimens of the genus *Pleuronectes*, the only genus of vertebrate animals which has not a symmetrical form. These amiable fish swim on their side, instead of on their belly; and their head is so twisted that both eyes are on one side—the side on which they do not swim. Naturalists have not been slow in speculating on this deformity, and have found in it a remarkable instance of adaptation to circumstances. The philosopher cannot refrain from asking whether this deformity is congenital or acquired—whether the fish in becoming flat adapted themselves to circumstances, or whether they were originally created flat, with this specific organisation?

According to the researches of VAN BENEDEN, recently published, the fish are not born deformed. He dissected the turbot shortly after its exit from the egg. At this epoch the head is not twisted on the spinal column, the two eyes are in their right places, as in other fish, and the mouth is perfectly symmetrical. In a word, neither the head nor the rest of the body presents any peculiarity—the young turbot is a fish, but not yet one of the *Pleuronectes*.

This is a very useful fact for the upholders of the Development Hypothesis, for it suggests the great specific changes which may be acquired. The antagonists of that hypothesis may, however, plausibly argue that the fact only proves this change to be subsequent to birth, and that it is a transmitted peculiarity which the first Flat-fish brought with him into the water. What a picture to the mind is that of the First Flat-fish!

### VOLTAIRE AND HIS TIMES.

*Voltaire and his Times.* By L. F. Bungener. (Authorised Translation.) Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

In spite of the number of books written about Voltaire and his Times, the subject is so inexhaustible, and gives rise to such variety of appreciations, according to the talent and temper of the critic,—presenting a thousand *faculties* to break the light into prismatic colours,—that provided only there be talent of some kind to appreciate, and conviction of some kind to render the judgment steady, this subject of Voltaire will always be a fertile one for writers. M. Bungener is certainly not the man from whom we should expect a correct appreciation of Voltaire; we say this not because he is a Christian minister, impelled by office and creed into perpetual antagonism with Voltaire; for with such antagonism a clear, strong mind would nevertheless be capable of giving a very admirable portrait from the Christian point of view. But M. Bungener wants sincerity. We are not throwing a doubt upon the sincerity of his opinions, but we cannot see a clergyman writing like a Parisian journalist without doubts arising of his earnestness. The desire to startle, the search for epigram, the *ad captandum* style of this book, would have been wearisome, even with the signature of a journalist; but when signed by a minister whose avowed purpose is not epigram, anecdote, and Monday’s feuilleton, but the serious purpose of dissecting the character of Voltaire, and thereby calling up before us the eighteenth century, it becomes more than tiresome,—it is an impertinence. The book is thoroughly French, not in a complimentary sense. It is not history, it is not biography, it is not philosophy, it is not criticism; it is a collection of feuilletons, with Voltaire for the excuse.

In justice to M. Bungener, it should be added, that he is, in this English dress, very considerably despoiled of his French brilliancy and colour. It is a merciless translation, throwing the affectations out into sharp relief; and sacrificing the idiom of our language with unrelenting fidelity to the idiom of the original. Every time the French idiom “on” (e.g., “on pense,” or “on voit”) occurs, it is scrupulously rendered “one” (“one sees,” “one thinks”). When Voltaire says of Rousseau, that he was Diogenes, who sometimes wrote like Plato, the translator, finding in the original “c’est Diogène,” with careful error renders it “it is Diogenes; but he sometimes speaks like Plato.” The translator has probably heard a coward called a *poule mouillée*; nevertheless, when the phrase comes before him, he does not hesitate to inform us that Argenson died like a *wet chicken*! Here is a bit, “There are Jesuits impudent enough to say that M. de Montesquieu died an imbecile, and they arrogated to themselves the right to engage others to die the same.” One more specimen and we cease:—

“This may hold in certain cases, and specially, if one will have it, in poetry; but poetry herself no sooner takes, or allows to be given her, a part in social dissensions, than she loses

her right to plead honestly her claim to be excepted. All the more let us distrust these dangerous appeals in matters which bear only on philosophy and history. Would a judge be the more just, the more he should put himself in the place of the accused persons brought before him? *All well*, acting as a Christian and a private person; but in the discharge of his public duty—and criticism is that—the first point is to call good, good, and evil evil."

We have dwelt on this shameless disregard of the first principles of translation (a knowledge at least of one of the languages being considered a first principle), because this book bears on the title-page what is meant for a guarantee, the words "authorised translation." Bad as translations are now-a-days, we think, on the whole, we prefer the unauthorised.

Turning from the manner to the matter, the book, in spite of its affectation, and the incompetence of its author to the serious appreciation of the eighteenth century, is, by virtue of the indestructible interest in Voltaire, not a book to be thrown aside. If read by easy stages, it will even greatly interest. The anecdote, the literary gossip, and the occasional acuteness of the remarks, render it very agreeable—to read a little of; and it would be difficult for any one to write upon Voltaire in the present day without repeating a great deal of excellent criticism. There is a great deal that M. Bungener repeats, which is worth reading; but he also repeats things which have been said because they are epigrammatic, rather than because they are true. There is great deal of both in the following passage:—

"The incarnation of an age in one man takes place, according to the times, in two different ways.

"Sometimes it is the man that takes the lead. He calls to other minds, and those other minds follow him. He lays hold of all the vital forces of society, and gathers them into his hand. Such is the reign of genius; such the lot of young and vigorous generations.

"Sometimes it is the age itself that has selected from among its men the one who is to be its leader. This chosen chief is condemned thenceforth to have but one thought—that of maintaining his seat. All his faculties, all his genius perhaps—for it is not impossible that he may have genius—he will be found to consecrate to the study and the service of the tastes of the multitude. He will acquire an astonishing ability for anticipating everything that is wanted from him. He will guess men's longings before they are expressed; may, before they are felt. He will have the air of one that leads, but only because he will contrive never to advance, unless precisely in the way that is wished for. Unity, in the one case, arises from all men becoming fused in one; in the other, it arises from there being one man to make himself all things to all. This is the reign of talent, this the lot of ages sunk in anxiety and weakness.

"Such, then, shall we find to have been evidently the part that belonged to Voltaire in the eighteenth century. Ask not from him those bursts of genius, those powerful inspirations which seize a people's inmost feelings, agitate them, temper them anew, create for them a life and a faith. Possibly—and it is a praise we cannot refuse him—possibly he might in other times have had these regenerating inspirations. Even his everlasting laugh did not prove him incapable of enthusiasm. He would weep at the theatre; hardly, it is true, at any play that was not his own, and always so far that he might set the example; but, after all, he wept, and one does not weep at will. In an epoch where, in order to be powerful one must have been great, I believe Voltaire would have been great.

"That, however, he never was; he served his age as that age desired to be served. Wit was required of him, and wit he scattered with a liberal hand. Fine verses were wanted of him—these he made; but he was never asked for poetry, that of the heart I mean,—and he had it not. 'I admit in him the perfection of mediocrity,' said one of his enemies, the Abbé Trublet; and though *mediocritiy* sounds ill, I agree, when treating of Voltaire, that this judgment is in some respects one of the best that has been passed upon him. Had I to repeat it, I should not understand by it any more, no doubt, than the Abbé Trublet, that Voltaire was a mediocre person; my notion would be this, that even in the pages where he is true, pure, noble, even, in a word, in those in which you find nothing reprehensible, in which you feel that he has reached perfection in its kind, you never feel yourself, notwithstanding, placed among the loftiest elevations of genius or of virtue, never in that high atmosphere to which a Bossuet, or a Pascal, or a Newton, would lift you by a word."

When, however, he says that Rousseau had no conviction, and that there was no conviction in his school, that no one read Rousseau seriously, or believed in his opinions, he is about as near the truth as if one should say that English people have no love for music, because a few listless "heavies" were talking during the whole of the overture to *Fidelio*. Rousseau was "the fashion," and of course many people pretended enthusiasm for his ideas, simply because he was the fashion. But if he had not first stirred the serious minds, the frivolous would never have pretended to be stirred. Yet M. Bungener says:—

"It was not from any want of consciousness of the same thing in themselves, or that at bottom they really differ from Voltaire, that people would say of him, that he was 'factitious from head to foot.' Let us rid ourselves of the idea that the eighteenth century, at least until the approaches of the Revolution, took up Rousseau seriously. The poor Abbé de St. Pierre, who had said nearly the same things, but really believing them, had met with nothing but railing. There was no love felt for men of conviction; they were instinctively repelled as living protests against the levity of the age. Rousseau had the forms of conviction; these men forgave him because they were sensible that he had none of the reality. They felt a certain pleasure in abandoning themselves to him, but this because there was seen to be nothing more in it than a play of the intellect; the moment one could have had the idea that he was preaching seriously, his reign was at an end. He was listened to as, in the days of the schoolmen, one would have listened to their subtle syllogisers; and in the field of morals, all whom he might have frightened by the austerity of his precepts, he but too well reassured by the spectacle of his manners."

Why, if M. Bungener thought of anything beyond turning a phrase, the most obvious reflection would occur to him, that the great mass of French people in Rousseau's day could never have been "reassured by the spectacle of his manners," for the simple reason that they could know nothing of them; and if M. Bungener would extend his survey to England, Germany, Holland, and even Italy, he would see that Rousseau's influence extended even there, and was very seriously operating among thinking minds.

At the same time we quite agree with him when he says:—

"Here, perhaps, there is a fresh paradox; but it strikes me that Voltaire, with his levity of tone and his never-ending sarcasms, was more the serious man of the age than his grave and sententious rival. All his sayings, for him, hit the mark; all his shafts pierced to the quick. The work of the age was his; none more entirely devoted to it. He does not say so, but people know it, and nobody in Europe doubts it; while what Rousseau seeks, above all things, Rousseau. Voltaire liberally put his glory at the service of the cause; Rousseau always let it be seen, in serving it, that he ever thought more of himself than it, and that, in reality, he cared little about its triumph. Voltaire asked not for martyrdom, but for victory. 'He would be delighted to be hanged,' said Voltaire, 'provided his name were in the sentence.'"

And there are some good traits in this

#### CONTRAST BETWEEN VOLTAIRE AND ROUSSEAU.

"In their whole character and movements we see the same diversity, the same contrasts.

The one does his best to add to the influence of talents, that of position and riches; the other glories in being nothing, and in having nothing. Voltaire speaks of 'my château,' and is none the prouder at bottom; Rousseau complains of the high price of bread, and you can see pride peeping through the holes in his mantle. They both spend their lives in complaints—the poor man of his voluntary poverty, the rich one of his failing health, still endurable after living eighty years. But Voltaire passes jests on his maladies, even when real; Rousseau would fain that the whole human race should weep with him over his, even when imaginary. Often, moreover, they both make themselves ridiculous—the one by his seriousness about trifles, the other by his levity on the gravest subjects. But the latter, with his inexhaustible malice, is sometimes kindly; the former, with his universal philanthropy, has always some gall in his ink, and sometimes a good deal. Even when he is in the right, his tone is that of a sophist rather than of the man who is himself convinced; Voltaire, even when in the wrong, is natural, and, in some sort, candid. You find him lie, and that often; but he does not mix up with his lies fervent apostrophes to truth and virtue. He makes victims, and boasts of doing so; Rousseau tries to make them, yet, to hear him speak, you would think there is no victim but himself. He loves to say and to believe that he is surrounded with enemies—he makes it his glory to agree with nobody; and Voltaire, on the contrary, loves to repeat that everybody is of his way of thinking, except some downright fools, to whom public reason will soon have done justice. An independent and great lord, he is thankful for the services of the smallest persons; Rousseau, on the contrary, needs help from everybody, and you cannot be of use to him, but forthwith he sets himself to hate you. He is, on the whole, not so good as his writings; Voltaire is often better than his.

"The same diversity, in fine, appears in the influence which they proceeded, in parallel lines, to exercise on the epoch in which they lived. Voltaire carried opinion along with him; but as he taught men only to deny, and preached in fact no system, he had not, and could not have, disciples properly so called. Rousseau had disciples, and even enthusiastic ones. To say the truth, he could hardly have any other, for there is no middle course with him. People love him, or they hate him; he is listened to as an oracle, or thrust off as a fool. Voltaire, on the contrary, will be found to have influenced even those who detested him—that clergy whom he lashed, those old magistrates who would fain have had it in their power to burn him along with his books."

We have no space to follow M. Bungener through the mass of anecdotes which he has collected as illustrative of the age; but we will content ourselves with a couple of extracts.

#### ACTORS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"It was a most singular existence that of the actors and actresses in France. The Church, which condemned them, durst not ask the State to cease giving them encouragement; the State, which encouraged them, durst not ask the Church to cease condemning them. Pariahs as a class, they were received even in the palace of the sovereign; yet covered with laurels, glistening all over with gold, they remained pariahs. He, to whose remains the Archbishop of Paris refused the rights of burial, was the man whom Louis XIV. so long admired and almost loved; it was Molière. That woman whose mortal remains were in like manner refused admission into the common burying-ground, was one whom all France admired as one who lent new beauties even to Racine; it was Adrienne Lecouvreur. 'When the Italians and the English,' wrote Voltaire on this occasion, 'learn that we excommunicate persons who are in the pay of the king, that we condemn as impious a drama which is acted in convents, that we pronounce games to be dishonourable in which great princes have been actors, that we declare those plays to be works of the devil which have passed under the censorship of the severest magistrates, and which have been acted before a virtuous queen,—what would you have them think of our nation, and how can they conceive either that our laws can give their sanction to an art declared to be so infamous, or that anybody should dare to put a mark of infamy on an art which has been sanctioned by our sovereigns, and cultivated by our greatest men?' In 1763, Mademoiselle Clairon having been sent to prison for refusing to play: 'It is too absurd a contradiction,' he wrote again, 'to be sent to Fort-l'Évêque if you do not play, and to be excommunicated if you do.' By another oddity, as Italian players were not excommunicated in their own country, those of the *Comédie-Italienne* Theatre in Paris were no more so, even when they happened to be Frenchmen."

#### DRAMATIC AUTHORS.

"In this universal fever, if the success made a great noise, the failures were terrible. A man that was hissed, was a man annihilated. To think that there was still something tolerable in a play that had failed, was an act of courage of which the most devoted friend was not always capable, and there was hardly any medium between success and failure.

"Now, it was impossible to know, not a day, not even an hour before, what was to be the fate of the play. Precautions, protections, nothing was sure, and what seemed the best founded hopes were often followed by the worst failures. In 1752, the friends of Marmonet made so sure of the success of his *Heracides*, that the financier, La Popelinière, had prepared for him an ovation in his château. Thither he went, in fact, with death in his soul, for the play had fallen flat to the ground. La Popelinière, in total ignorance of this, had not countermanded his feast, and the hissed author was received by a troop of shepherdesses, who presented him with a laurel crown.

"A play might reach the fifth act before the public having pronounced, without showing symptoms of being prepared to pronounce, and often, in fact, without its having any leaning either for or against the play. But as custom required that, before separating, the spectators should settle its fate, no more was wanted, at that last moment, than any circumstance, however slight—a verse, a word, a nothing—to make the multitude determine one or other way, so as to overwhelm the author either with condemnation or applause. It was universal suffrage precluding, on the playhouse benches, to those more serious caprices of which it is now giving us the spectacle. The mob became intoxicated with this sovereignty of an evening. It seemed to fear lest its right might not be sufficiently vindicated, if it was not exercised with the suddenness of tyranny. Hence those frightful throes which Piron has so admirably portrayed, and which Marmonet has described with still more graphic effect. 'In those days,' says he, 'the author of a new play had set apart for himself and his friends a small barrel box, in the third tier, over the proscenium, the seat in which, I may say truly, was like a bundle of thorns. I repaired to it half an hour before the rise of the curtain, and till then, preserved sufficient fortitude amid my fears. But at the noise made by the curtain as it rose, my blood froze in my veins. In vain they tried to revive me with liqueur, I swooned quite away. It was only at the end of the first monologue, at the noise of the plaudits, that I regained my consciousness. From that moment all went on well, and from better to better, until there came the passage in the fourth act with which I had been so threatened. But at that moment approached, I was seized with such a fit of trembling, that, without exaggeration, my teeth chattered in my mouth. Were the great revolutions that take place in the soul and in the senses mortal, I should have died from that which took place within me when—at the happy violence done to the spectators by the sublime Clairon in pronouncing the verse: 'Go, then, fear nothing,' &c.—the whole playhouse shook with redoubled applause. Never from a more sensible fear did one pass to so sudden and sensible joy; and, during all that remained of the play, this latter feeling agitated my heart and soul with such violence, that I could breathe only in sobs.' But, likewise, the most brilliant prospect that his fancy could anticipate in case of success, was exceeded by the reality. 'In a single day, I had almost said in a moment, I found myself at once rich and celebrated.'

"Hence, too, sometimes, after an unfavourable verdict, the despair of an author was more comical or more tragical, as the case might be, than anything in the play that had occasioned it. Sometimes, in printing it, half arrogant, half humble, the author tried to prove, in the preface, how the public ought not to have hissed; sometimes he would reclaim, in full theatre, like that M. Morand, who, in justification of the part of a mother-in-law, which the public had thought ludicrously overdone, darted upon the stage, declaring that he had painted after nature—that that mother-in-law was his own mother-in-law, and that, if faulty in any way, it was rather in having softened down the traits, than in having exaggerated them. The spectators laughed: he was furious. They only laughed the more; on which he tossed his hat into the pit, calling out that he would fight the first that took it up."

## MODERN EDUCATION.

*The Principles of Education.* By Hugo Reid, Author of "Elements of Astronomy," "The Steam Engine," "The First Book of Geography," &c. Longman.  
*German Letters on English Education.* By Dr. L. Wiese, translated by W. D. Arnold, Lieutenant, 58th Regiment, B.N.I. Longman.  
*Early Education.* Four Lectures delivered in the Public Hall of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. By W. H. Bainbridge, F.R.C.S. Blackader and Co.

THE days are happily past when teaching was considered as the fitting occupation for those who were incapable of doing anything else. The instances are becoming rare—and when they do occur, are received with becoming wonder and indignation—of what was formerly the most natural and common-place occurrence, viz., of the office of schoolmaster or mistress in a village being bestowed by the careful guardians of the public purse on that old man or woman, who, from perfect incapacity for work of any kind, was most certain to continue a burden on the parish rates. And that such an appointment was acquiesced in by supervising magistrates and gentlemen, is the less surprising, when we reflect that they carried the same ideas in some measure into the education of their own families. We have seen a letter, written not twenty-five years ago, recommending as instructress a lady who had been suddenly reduced in circumstances, on the plea that she was too imperfectly educated to be fit for any employment excepting that of governess to young children. These things are better understood now; we are sensible that the training of those early years demands more judgment, capacity, and experience, than perhaps any other portion of education, and that, in order to teach the rudiments of any subject well, we require to be thoroughly acquainted with all that is to follow; in fact, the word education conveys a totally different set of ideas from what it did a century ago, when a book like Mr. Reid's would either have provoked ridicule, or an educational revolution. It is now, we are glad to say, but one among many works on the same subject, based on the principles that children are not mere machines, to be drilled and moulded after a uniform pattern; that ideas will not take root in the mind unless the soil be previously prepared to receive them, and unless their growth be sedulously fostered and encouraged when once implanted; that the imparting of actual knowledge is, after all, one of the least important objects of early education; that to give the child the perfect command of every faculty, to train to habits of self-improvement and self-control, to curb the besetting weakness, and develop the individual ability, is the real task of the parent or preceptor—a task so mighty in its requirements, so awful in its responsibilities, that every one in whose duty it has entered, and who has conceived it in its full importance, must at times have shrunk and quailed beneath it, viewing the difficulties of fulfilment, and the evils of shortcoming.

We venture to say that all who have felt this will derive both comfort and instruction from the volume before us. Mr. Reid does not pretend to any very new or original views on education; but he has addressed himself to existing difficulties, and existing possibilities, in an earnest, liberal, and philosophical spirit; and his little book abounds with acute observation and practical suggestions. He considers, first, the Being to be educated; secondly, the objects of education; thirdly, the means of educating; a natural and progressive division of the subject. We are tempted to make one extract, from our sympathy with its protest against the abuse of that excessive stimulus to emulation which exists in some schools, and which, we have always believed, develops a certain quickness and facility, at the expense of much ill-founded pride in the successful competitor, and equally causeless discouragement to the less fortunate.

"In some schools, the principle of emulation is applied to such an extent, that there are gradations of places in each class, from a leader or dux, down to an unfortunate, who has sunk to the 'lowest deep' and is called 'booby,' and there is daily shifting of places, or *place-taking* as it is called, during the lessons, according to conduct and the correctness of the verbal answers or other exercises. In such classes the excitement during rapid questioning by an energetic teacher is very great, and the system is, no doubt, calculated to tease up certain of the faculties, and make 'smart lads' a little smarter. But the natural emulation that exists between youth in a class will, in the hands of an active and intelligent teacher, do quite enough in this way, without super-adding the evils inseparable from a greedy competition for places. Where this practice of place-taking is carried on, the vulgar desire to gain an advantage over one's fellows is fostered to an injurious extent. There is a coarse striving to be first, a rude impatience to snatch the word almost from another's mouth, an ungentlemanlike contest for superiority, attended with very bad effects on the manners, and on the feelings with which we regard others—who, instead of being looked upon in a kindly spirit, as beings whom we should assist, encourage, sympathise with, must of necessity be viewed as impediments, to be jostled, pushed out of our way, beaten down, and triumphed over. If the system is at all useful for *intellectual training*, and the preservation of discipline, which is very doubtful indeed; it is unquestionably the very opposite of *moral training*! Besides all this, there is great inconvenience, noise, disorder, and waste of time attendant on place-taking, and the consequent registering which is required. It is to be remarked also, that it is mere memory which is exercised in rapid questioning, and memory of only very simple isolated facts. Where the subject involves a variety of considerations, and the answer must be a sentence of a number of words (and in such cases only is there real intellectual training)—time is required to think out the proper answer, and set it in proper language; and this cannot be done amidst the noise, confusion, anxiety, and irritation of rapid questioning and place-taking."

"And Booby—that poor victim, who must be sacrificed at the altar of the teacher's pride, that he may exhibit for worship a pampered idol called Dux! What crime has Booby committed to be thus treated as a pariah or outcast, and have a stigma attached to his name?—for it is a stigma and a degradation, and one to which no youth should ever be subjected; where there is no moral delinquency. But look at the boobies' form, and what do you find there? Perhaps some of the boobies are lads of a shy, sensitive spirit, who modestly shrink setting themselves forward; or they are in that position of disgrace, because the teacher is so engrossed in pushing on those clever scholars who fall in with his system, that he has not time to give adequate attention to those who cannot, from some little deficiency, push themselves on;—or they are lads who are unfitted for a public school, and whom the ignorance, poverty, or parsimony of their parents prevents being provided with that private education that alone would suit them;—or lads of intelligence, but whose faculties develop a little slowly;—or lads who have no tutor, elder brother, or friend to assist them at home—a comfortable, happy and peaceful fireside to study at—no kind parents watching over them, inquiring into their progress, gently stimulating them and encouraging them. Perhaps Booby is a poet, or a naturalist, a mechanical genius, or an 'impenetrable dame,' such as Sheridan! No doubt, some on the boobies' form are in reality very dull lads; what then? Is that any reason why they must be put in the stocks or exposed in the pillory—why they must have the additional mortification of having that dulness held out to public view as a degradation? Are not the inevitable consequences of that dulness sufficient punishment? And, very probably, several of the boobies are really ill-behaved lads, who deserve punishment. Is it wise to place these all together, to keep each other in countenance, encourage each other in their idle or evil ways, and corrupt those of the better sort who are placed beside them? We cannot help thinking

that 'Booby'—venerable institution though it be—might now be dispensed with, like many other institutions which the more humane spirit and fertile resources of modern times have enabled us to abolish."

Dr. Wiese is well known as a great educational authority in his own country. His interest in the subject of English education seems to have been mainly awakened by his ardent admiration for the character and writings of Dr. Arnold. These letters contain an account of his visit to England, undertaken in order to examine the principal public schools, and to compare the educational systems of England and Germany. The great element of difference between them, of course is, that in England the education of children is held to be a right and duty of the parent—in Germany, the state assumes to herself the formation of her future citizens.

Dr. Wiese appears to have been principally struck with the more independent and self-reliant spirit cultivated in English scholars, their general regard for truth, and ready recognition of law. "The great end of English education," he declares, "is to impart to the young, and that in the best way, Strength of Will."

With regard to the systems of instruction pursued in the two countries, he sums them up as "exhibiting the contrast between skill and science (*Kennen* and *Wissen*), practice and knowledge." The higher German schools, he says, are far in advance of the English; but the education in these latter is generally more effective, because a better preparation for life. And he concludes with an ardent aspiration, that it were possible to combine "the German scientific method with the English power of forming the character."

The lectures of Mr. Bainbridge contain nothing very new or worthy of comment; but they insist usefully upon a point which is not always sufficiently attended to, namely, the importance of conducting education with a due regard to physiological considerations.

## A BOOK ON SWEDEN.

*A Brage-Beaker with the Swedes.* By W. Blanchard Jerrold.

X. Cash.

This little volume contains an account of a journey from London to Stockholm and back, performed between "a night of last November" and Christmas-day. Mr. Blanchard Jerrold has contrived to make some observations during this six weeks' rapid run in a country he never visited before; but these observations will not frighten light readers by their gravity, nor will they dazzle "mild-eyed, melancholy" ones by their wit. Still there is a good supply of commercial facts and figures, and an account of the roads, the inns, the feeding, and the costume which came in the traveller's way; so that people who read for information will be informed. Also, the writer is in such perfect good humour with himself, and finds his own discursive fancies and speculations so highly amusing, that no reader of common good nature can avoid being amused by what is written.

For moral reflections and grave views of life our author is not very much at home. For instance, he says:—"I often think Carlyle is right; without sciences and encyclopedias, we are apt to forget the *divineness* in the laboratories of ours." The apparent novelty of the thought to the writer is almost as surprising as his condescending patronage of Mr. Carlyle's opinion. Here and there, throughout his pages, a serious sentence or two may be found; these are evidently inserted to *tone down* or to give shade to the sparkling brilliancy of the rest—a specimen of which we subjoin:

"We had been travelling during four-and-twenty hours. To my companions, I remarked about this time that I felt 'seedy'; but of course this expression would not do in a formal book of travels. But the truth is, I have not made up my mind whether I shall write a conventionally correct account; whether, like Talfourd, I shall publish my daily bill of fare, and comment on the 'specious sophism of an egg' for breakfast; or, like Pfeiffer, tell the reader how many people there are in Hamburg and other places, and go through the list of sights, at the risk of offending Mr. Murray, who seems to claim all the sights of Europe for his own. The regular thing seems to be something between a catalogue and a cookery-book. Now I have not the facts for a catalogue, nor a taste for a book on the culinary art; so shall attempt neither. I shall rather endeavour to seize the spirit of matters about me, leaving geography and statistics to Guy and Macculloch; the hotels to Murray; and the kitchens to Soyer. Those persons who want a history of Sweden must read Geijer; those who would like to form a thoroughly incorrect impression of the Scandinavian peninsula, may study Laing, who proves that Orebro is not Dumfries; that Neuburg is not Glasgow; and who misquotes statistics to prove absurd dogmas."

From this slight extract a very clear notion may be gathered of what is not to be found in the book, but it gives but a faint idea of the smartness and jocosity which prevail throughout. What a *Brage-Beaker* is we are not informed here, but are left to learn elsewhere, or to infer that it is a drinking vessel of some sort. From certain woodcuts in the first and last chapters, we suppose it to be a champagne-glass.

## The Arts.

## THE THEATRES.

It is now five weeks, *ami lecteur*, since I conveyed to you my fleeting impressions of the fleeting triumphs of the day. I sometimes complain of the bad atmosphere of theatres, but, believe me, it is better to breathe that atmosphere, contemplating mediocre acting, and "powerful," uninteresting pieces, than to breathe, as I have been breathing, the sea breezes of the southern coast, or the gay, intoxicating air of Paris. Yes, it is a miserable fact! I would rather sit in the upper boxes of a crowded theatre, listening to the melodious voice of Charles Kean, and watching the varied expression of his passionate countenance, than drive through the avenues of the Bois de Boulogne, or

"Hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

You think this a paradox? one little detail will render it an appreciable truth. For me to be seated contemplating the splendours of Kean, implies that I have the health which permits that intellectual orgie. It is precisely that which has been wanting to me these last five weeks, and which has made Paris dull, and life a ton.

So that when I find myself once again within the walls of a theatre, though not quite well enough to justify my presence there, it seems as if a new lease

of life had been signed. I did not, however, see the *Knights of the Round Table*, which has had a legitimate success at the HAYMARKET, thanks to Mr. Planché and the actors. It is an adaptation of *Les Chevaliers du Languedoc*, which had but moderate success when produced some time ago, and the skill of the adapter has apparently made all the difference between a good subject and a good piece. Although the taste of the Paris public is no standard for that of the English; witness, among many striking examples, the *Corsican Brothers*, which went for nothing in Paris—or, as a still more recent example, *Les Filles de Marbre*, which created a *furore* last year, and was even being played last week, but when played at the ADELPHI, on Monday, under the title of *The Marble Heart*, produced no very great impression. The *Times*' critic thinks that the adapter, Mr. Selby, has weakened the situation by bringing it into a more moral atmosphere. Perhaps so. But although Mr. Selby was forced into this change by the absence of any representative in English life of the Parisian *lorette*, I am convinced that he would have achieved no success at all comparable to that achieved in Paris, even had the state of society in England afforded him the requisite type; for even in Paris it was the success of the *Dame aux Camélias* which made that of the *Filles de Marbre* possible. There, as one observes with amazement, the courtesan is a public character; the most splendid equipages in the Bois de Boulogne belong to her; the most extravagant toilettes are worn by her; she is the heroine of novels, the first character in dramas, the celebrity of the hour. She had not a more public or luxurious existence in ancient Athens or Rome than in the capital of France. Among the many attempts to idealise her situation and to throw a halo of poetic interest over her life, *La Dame aux Camélias* was the most brilliant and popular. The poesy of corruption having been carried to its apex, it was a good thought which entered the minds of MM. Barrière and Thiboust to take exactly the other side of the question, and to represent in hideous severity the worthlessness and venality of *Les Filles de Marbre*. The success was great, but it was the success of reaction. Had there been no *Dame aux Camélias* the idea of *Les Filles de Marbre* would have been a platitude. Who would think of setting before us such a moral truism as that courtesans are venal, and that if sculptors ran after them, lavished their fortunes on them, forsook their ateliers for them, the consequences would be humiliation and ruin? The whole notion is preposterous. Raphael buys love, and then rants about want of heart in the woman who sells it; and we are expected to be interested in his infatuation, and to sympathise in his disenchantment! Unless we, too, had our hectic passion for the poetic courtesan, we could feel no sort of interest in seeing that mockery exposed.

What a pleasure it is to turn from such scenes of unhealthy sentiment to the genuine, eternal heart-interest of honest emotions, such as those agitating

#### LA JOIE FAIT PEUR,

which was played for the first time on Wednesday, at the French Theatre, with Régnier, Madame Allan, and Madlle. Fix, in their original parts, and Madlle. Luther in the part so charmingly played by Madlle. Dubois. This great little piece is a triumph of Art and of Acting. Out of a subject so simple as the grief of a family for a young man supposed to be dead, the joy felt at his return—joy so great that it brings terror with it, lest it be *too* great, and therefore requires most delicate ingenuity to prepare the mind for its reception—for this, and this alone, is the subject of the piece—Madame Emile de Girardin has constructed a work of Art full of minute details, full of pathos and of laughter, every sentence vibrating on some chord of common experience, so that from first to last the spectator is agitated with emotions, powerful because true, and true to almost universal experience. To keep thus within the limits of everyday reality, and yet by force of Art to keep the interest of the audience, not simply above the level of trivial reality, but up to the very height of excitement, such as only profound passions usually attain, bespeaks in the authoress a dramatic power exceeding that of all her contemporaries. Madame de Girardin's wit, fine observation, tact, and taste, are familiar enough to all readers of French literature, and have been several times lauded in these columns; but although she had in previous pieces shown herself competent to theatrical success, it was reserved for this little act to show that she possessed the

dramatic faculty, in the highest sense of that term. I recommend every student of dramatic literature very attentively to analyse this piece. I recommend every lover of a finely-acted drama, and of a drama worthy of being finely acted, to go and see it.

I said it was a triumph of acting, as well as of writing; and having paid my tribute to Madame de Girardin, it is right that the praise should be shared by Régnier and Madame Allan. Madame Allan, whom our public saw for the first time, made a profound impression in a part, the length of which is so insignificant that few of our leading actresses, probably not one, would have accepted it had they not seen what a great actress can do in the way of supplying by her art the eloquence which lies, indeed, in the situation, but which the author has left to the actor. The part consists of two situations and two feelings; the art of the actress consists in relieving the monotony by calling upon the variety which nature herself creates in emotion. But unless this emotion, and these varying shades of feeling, be truly discriminated, and nicely felt, unless the actress abandon herself to the passion of the part, and throw aside all traditional stage language of passion, it will become monotonous or a caricature. It is made a complaint against me that I am difficult to please; but I have twice seen *La Joie fait Peur* with the unmingled delight and admiration for Madame Allan and Régnier which a boy feels the first time he goes to the theatre. I thought them simply perfect. As for Régnier, hitherto the admirable, now the great comedian, his admirers will scarcely know what to think of that mobility of genius which enables him to create such a type as that of *Noël*. To those who remember, and all remember who have seen, the bright vivacity of his *Mari à la Campagne*, the reckless, restless, hard, metallic sharpness of his *Figaro*, the tempered buffoonery of his *Scapin*, the daring cowardice of his *Hector* in *La Bataille des Dames*—to those, in short, who remember Régnier in any of his multiform characters, this old, shambling, affectionate servant, so full of *bonhomie* and pathos, will seem almost an impossibility. There is nothing of Régnier in it, except the voice, the eye ("*j'ai quelquefois l'œil très brillant*"), and that finesse of observation, both of moral and physical details, which forms the basis of the art of acting. I have no space to enter into minute criticism, but I would briefly note, in conclusion, the rare power Régnier exhibits over what I sometimes call the *secondary emotions*—those, namely, which occur during the subsidence of a passion, like the wide-stretching circles on the surface of a lake into which a stone has been thrown. This is a point in which actors mostly fail. Observe Régnier in that situation when his young master, supposed to be dead, stands before him. In the space of a few seconds he has to crowd a variety of hurrying emotions, which end with his sinking almost lifeless in the arms of his master. The situation is a strong one, and there is no fine actor who would not make a great effect with it. But the point where actors mostly fall short, and where Régnier achieves consummate excellence, is in the dim awakening consciousness, and in the calmer tremblings which agitate him still, although the agitation is *subsiding*. To illustrate my meaning by a directly opposite example: observe Charles Kean, or Brooke, or Anderson, or any of the tragedians, who do not ornament the British stage, observe them after a burst of terrific passion, such as that of *Othello*, *Lear*, or *Macbeth*—passion that would shake their very being to its centre, if really felt; and you will perceive that the violent words once uttered, the stage once "taken," or the attitude struck, the applause which welcomes this burst has not ceased before these gentlemen are as calm and composed, both in expression and voice, as if they had ordered "cutlets for one," instead of calling upon the Powers of Hell to aid them in their vengeance! I have seen Charles Kean foam at the mouth one moment, and the next be as placid as a parish clerk. When you see Régnier think of this.

Madlle. Fix, who played her original part—or rather sang it, for her notion of acting seems limited to a certain rhythmical declamation—is a pretty woman, with a melodious voice. More I cannot say. Madlle. Luther played the important part of *Blanche* with great *natural* and charm, though not equal to Madlle. Dubois, who plays it in Paris. Altogether it is a great success, and the audience—"strange, yet true"—was enthusiastic.

VIVIAN.

#### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

##### BIRTHS.

**CROPPER.**—May 23, at Tunbridge-wells, the Hon. Mrs. E. Cropper : a son.

**DARTMOUTH.**—May 21, at 40, Grosvenor-square, the Countess of Dartmouth : a daughter.

**FINCHAM.**—May 20, at 28, Chapel-street, Belgrave-square, the wife of Dr. Fincham : a son.

##### MARRIAGES.

**RARNARD—CARRINGTON.**—May 24, at Walcot Church, Bath, the Rev. Thomas Mordant Rosenhagen Barnard, B.A., of Exeter College, Oxford, to Charlotte, daughter of the late Sir Cordiner Edmund Carrington, formerly Chief Justice of Ceylon.

**HENSHAW—JAMES.**—May 23, at Petersfield, Thomas Henshaw, eldest son of the late Lieutenant James, R.N., of Chichester, to Kate, granddaughter of the late Rear-Admiral Butterfield.

##### DEATHS.

**CUNYNGHAM.**—May 19, at Jersey, Colonel Sir David Cunningham, Bart., aged eighty-six.

**GOLDSMITH.**—May 24, at New Burlington-street, George Goldsmith, Esq., late of Southampton, aged fifty-three.

#### Commercial Affairs.

#### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, May 26, 1854.

The Funds have been creeping up all the week, and close to-night at 89½, 1, for the June account. There has been one transaction to-day at 90, but it is fancied it must have been for money. The reasons for this rise are various, and not altogether satisfactory. The public, which believes in the final union of the Four Powers and the speedy downfall of Nicholas, has been evidently buying. All stocks have been going up at the same rate—that is all of a *bona fide* dividend-paying nature. Australian Bank shares have all advanced; and the London Australian Chartered Bank, as we said last week must advance in price, stands at 17½ premium, the whole of their capital 20½ per share, being paid up. Mines are still singularly flat. The best of the lot, *Aguia Fria*, remains at 1½ to 2½ premium, and this in the face of a most

favourable report from the manager in California, and the arrival of some 300 oz. of gold.

Foreign railway shares are very strong, particularly Northern and Lyons.

The impression in the Stock Exchange would seem to be that the "Bulls" are now all outside, and the "Bear" party in the Stock Exchange itself. If so—without any untoward accident to the Czar—we fear that the public will have to pay for its confidence in an immediate termination of the war.

Cousins close at four o'clock at 89½, 90.

Consols, 89½, 90½; Caledonian, 56½, 56¾; Chester and Holyhead, 14, 15; Eastern Counties, 12½, 12½; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 53, 55; Great Western, 74, 74½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 61, 61½; London and Blackwall, 84, 84½; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 101½, 102; London and North Western, 97, 97½; London and South Western, 77, 78½; Midland, 59, 60; Newport, Abergavenny, and Hereford, 7, 5½; North Staffordshire, 44, 44½; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 29, 31; Scottish Central, 58, 58½; South Eastern, 62½, 63½; South Wales, 34, 35½; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 66, 67; York and North Midland, 47, 48; East Indian, 12, 12½; Luxembourg, 51, 51½; Ditto (Railway), 31, 31; Ditto, Pref., 2, 1½; Madrid, par.; Namur and Liege (with Int.), 7, 7½; Northern of France, 32, 32½; Paris and Lyons, 16, 17½ p.m.; Paris and Orleans, 44, 46; Paris and Rouen, 35, 37; Paris and Strasbourg, 30½, 31; x. d.; Sambre and Meuse, 8, 8½; West Flanders, 3, 4; Western of France, 4, 3 p.m.; Aguia Fria, 13, 14; Anglo-Californian, 1, 1½ p.m.; Brazils Imperial, 3, 4½; St. John Del Rey, 20, 31; Great Nigerian Vein, 1, 1½ p.m.; Linseed, 19, 11; New Ditto, 1½, 1½ p.m.; Quarts Rock, 1, 1½ p.m.; United Mexican, 22, 22½; Peninsular, 1, 1½ p.m.; Australian Bank, 77, 79; London Chartered Bank of Australia, 20, 21½; Oriental Bank, 46, 48; Union of Australia, 69, 71; Australian Agricultural, 47, 48; Crystal Palaces, 14, 15 p.m.; North British Australasian, par., 1 p.m.

#### CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, May 26.

LOCAL TRADE.—We are liberally supplied with Wheat and Oats since Monday. The arrivals of Barley are very moderate. Great dullness pervades the trade, and sales to any extent could not be made of any Grain without submitting to some reduction, which however holders firmly resist.

**FREE ON BOARD.**—Stocks in the Baltic ports are low and holders firm, nevertheless trade has been languid since our last. By advices from New York of the 12th, we learn that supplies had rather increased, and the value of common qualities of Flour slightly declined. The stocks, however, are represented to be exceedingly low, and altogether out of proportion to the wants of the trade up to next harvest.

At Havre and Marseilles the trade is quiet. In most of the other French markets prices continue slightly to improve. There is no alteration in the value of Barley or Oats in the Danish ports. We learn from an official source that it is not intended to blockade Archangel, but that orders are gone out to blockade Riga. Under these circumstances we shall no doubt receive some Oats from the former port in neutral vessels, but as the freights must be extravagantly high, and the period of the year too late for getting supplies from the interior, it is not likely the quantity can be large.

**FLOATING TRADE.**—There is nothing of importance to report of this branch of the trade; since last week a few sales have been made, but on the whole less disposition has been exhibited to purchase at present rates, and holders generally decline to give way at all, although there are many offers made at a little below asking prices.

Indian Corn is in request, and scarce also.

Barley is in more demand, and two cargoes Oran sold at 28s.

Beans and Rye not much inquired for.

#### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK. (CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock.....	205	203	205	203	205	203
3 per Cent. Red. ....	87½	87½	88½	87½	88½	87½
3 per Cent. Con. An. ....	89½	88½	89	88½	89	88½
Consols for Account .....	88½	88½	88½	88	88½	88
3½ per Cent. An. ....	89	88½	88½	88	89	88
New 5 per Cents. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans. 1860.....	.....	.....	8 9-16	8 9-16	8 13-14	8 13-14
India Stock.....	333	333	333	333	333	333
Ditto Bonds, £1000.....	.....	.....	4 p	4 p	4 p	4 p
Ditto under £1000.....	12 d	5 d	5 d	10 d	4 p	4 p
Ex. Bills, £1000.....	1 p	1 p	2 d	2 p	1 p	4 p
Ditto, £500.....	1 p	2 d	1 p	2 p	1 p	4 p
Ditto, Small.....	1 p	2 p	2 p	2 p	1 p	4 p

## FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)		
Brazilian Bonds	98	Russian Bonds, 5 per Cents
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents.	55	1822
Chilian 6 per Cents.	55	Spanish 44 per Cents
Danish 5 per Cents.	100	3 p. Ct. New Def.
Ecuador Bonds	24	Spanish Committee Cert.
Mexican 3 per Cents.	24	of Coup. not fun.
Mexican 3 per Ct. for Acc. May 30	23	Venezuela 34 per Cents
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	53	Dutch 24 per Cents
Portuguese 5 p. Cents.	57	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.

## THEATRE FRANCAIS, King-street, St.

James's. Last week of the French Plays and Comedie Vaudeville. Monday evening, May 29th. Great success of Madame Girardin's new Comedie, *La Joie Fait Peur*, in which Mons. Regnier, Madame Allan, Mademoiselle Luther, and Mademoiselle Fix, will sustain their original characters. Monsieur Lafont begs leave most respectfully to announce that his Benefit will take place on Wednesday evening next, May 31st, when will be presented (for the first time in this country) the much-admired Comedy, in one act, of the Second Théâtre Français, entitled, *Au Printemps*. Principal character by Mademoiselle Luther. After which, the new and highly successful Comédie, by Madame de Girardin, entitled, *La Joie Fait Peur*, in which Madame Allan, Mademoiselle Fix, Mademoiselle Luther, and Monsieur Regnier, will sustain their original characters. To conclude with (by desire) the favourite Vaudeville, in two acts, of Jean ou le Mauvais Sujet. Jean by M. Lafont (his original character), with other attractive entertainments. Applications for Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets to be made to Monsieur Lafont, 23, King-street, St. James's; or to Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street.

## OPERA COMIQUE, ST. JAMES'S THEATRE, KING-STREET.

The Directors of the Theatre Lyrique, Paris, beg to announce that the entire Troupe of that Theatre, including the services of Madame MARIE CABEL, will commence a short Season of French Opera Comique at the St. James's Theatre, on Monday, June 5th, immediately after the completion of Monsieur Lafont's Season.

The first representation will consist of Adolphe Adams's new and very successful Opera, entitled *LE BIJOU PERDU* in which Madame MARIE CABEL will make her first appearance in this country.

Subsequent Performances will be selected from the New Operas of La Promise, Galathée, Le Domino Noir, La Fille du Régiment, Le Toréador, La Sirène; Le Roi des Halles, L'Organiste, La Tante Aurore, Le Maître de Chapelle, La Poupee, Le Postillon de Loujouane, Flore et Zephir, Le Panier Fleuri, Georgette, Le Rendezvous Bourgeois, Le nouveau Seigneur de Village, Les Noces de Jeannette, Les deux Voleurs, Le Tableau Parlant, L'Eclair—all of which are completely prepared for representation.

The Nights of Performance will be on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays.—Subscriptions will be received for TWELVE Representations.

Prices of Admission for the night:—Stalls, 10s. 6d. Boxes (Dress Circle), 3s. Pit, 2s. 6d. Amphitheatre, 2s. Prime Boxes:—First Circle, 4 guineas; Second Circle, 3 guineas; Pit, 2 guineas.

Applications for Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets to be made to Mr. Soguin, at the Box-office of the Theatre; and at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.  
Lease and Manager, MR. ALFRED WIGAN.  
RE-APPEARANCE OF MR. ALFRED WIGAN.

On Monday and during the Week, will be presented the Comedietta called

## THE HAPPIEST DAY OF MY LIFE.

Principal characters by Messrs. P. Robson, J. H. White, Leslie, Vincent, Franka, Rivers, Mrs. Chatterley, Miss P. Horton, and Miss Marston.

## After which, the Comic Drama of

## THE FIRST NIGHT.

Principal characters by Messrs. A. Wiggin, Leslie, Vincent, H. Cooper, Franka, Miss P. Horton, and Miss Emily Ormonde.

To conclude with a Farce, called

## THE MUMMY.

Principal characters by Mr. P. Robson, Mr. H. Wiggin, Mr. H. Cooper, Miss Marston, and Miss E. Turner.

## DRAMATIC READING.—Mr. WIGHTWICK, Author of "The Palace of Architecture," &amp;c., will read the Second Part of Shakespeare's HENRY IV. at Willis's Rooms, King-street, St. James's, on THURSDAY EVENING, 1ST JUNE, at Eight o'clock precisely. Admission, 5s.

LECTURES BY REV. F. D. MAURICE,  
Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn.

A Course of SIX LECTURES will be delivered at WILLISS ROOMS, King-street, St. James's, by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, on LEARNING and WORKING.

The Lectures will commence on THURSDAY, June 8th, at 3 o'clock, and will be delivered at the same hour on the succeeding Thursdays till they are completed.

Tickets, 1s. 1s., for the Course, or 5s. for each Lecture, may be obtained at Messrs. Hookham's Library, 15, Old Bond-street; at Messrs. Mudie's Library, 510, New Oxford Street; at Mr. Nutt's, Foreign Bookseller, 270, Strand; at Mr. Lumley's, Bookseller, Southampton-street, High Holborn; at Mr. G. Bell's, Publisher, 186, Fleet-street; and at Messrs. J. W. Parker and Son's, 445, West Strand.

The Syllabus of Lectures may be had gratis on application.

**COCOA** is a NUT, which, besides farinaceous substance, contains a bland oil, less liable than any other oil to rancidity. Possessing these two nutritive substances, Cocoa is a most valuable article of diet, more particularly when, by mechanical or other means, the farinaceous substance is so perfectly incorporated with the oily, that the one will prevent the other from separating. Such a union is presented in the Cocoa prepared by JAMES EPPS. The delightful flavour, in part dependent upon the oil, is retained, and the whole preparation is one suited to the most delicate stomach. 1s. 6d. per lb. JAMES EPPS, Homoeopathic Chemist, 112, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, near the British Museum; 82, Old Broad-street, City, a few doors from the Bank of England; and Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

In regard to purity, see the report of the Analytical Sanitary Commission, in *The Lancet*, July 5, 1851.

## CAUTION.

MESSRS. ALLSOPP and SONS find it necessary to caution the Public, and especially Shippers of their Ales to the Colonies, against frauds committed by parties in selling spurious Ales for those of Messrs. ALLSOPP and SONS.

Messrs. ALLSOPP and SONS have felt compelled, by the extent to which this disgraceful practice has been carried, to proceed, in several cases, by obtaining Injunctions from the Court of Chancery; and have ultimately been driven to prosecute criminally, for the commission of this offence. They beg to call attention to the case of "The Queen v. Gray and Goslin," in which Lord Campbell sentenced the parties charged to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour.—*Vide Times and Morning Advertiser of the 18th May.*

Messrs. ALLSOPP and SONS will thank all persons having reason to doubt the genuineness of any article sold under their name, to send them the earliest information, in order that immediate steps may be taken for prosecuting the parties.

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"Your sincerely,

"DR. JUSTUS LIEBIG.

"Giessen, Oct. 30, 1847.

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